

**UNĀDI-SŪTRAS
IN THE
SANSKRIT
GRAMMATICAL
TRADITION**

KANSHI RAM

This work presents a lucid account of the Sanskrit uṇādi-sūtras which form an important and interesting accessory mainly to the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The problem of the authorship of the Pañcapādī-uṇādi-sūtras has been analyzed and satisfactorily settled on the basis of the use of the device of prakṛti and pratyaya in these sūtras. It tells us how the etymological tendencies in the Brāhmaṇas culminated in the Nirukta and how it contributed to the making of the uṇādi-sūtras. Yāska himself alludes to this heated controversy over the origin of nouns.

It has been presented here in the form of a hypothesis that Pāṇini adopted a reconciliatory approach and himself composed the uṇādi-sūtras as an appendix to his grammar proper. The textual variations, which have crept into the body of uṇādi-sūtras because of their lax nature, have been studied, and an attempt has been made to determine the correct reading of the major variations with the help of various commentaries. An exhaustive list of the variations has also been given. The Post-Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras which have their own significance and which have their origin in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras have been accorded a proper treatment. It has also been shown that it is the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras which have influenced the succeeding uṇādi-sūtras to a great extent.

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To
Kesar
without
whose
affection
and
assistance
this work would
not have been completed

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PREFACE

The uṇādi-sūtras form an important and interesting accessory to the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. They promise a fruitful investigation in respect of their genesis, authorship, date, revisions and recensions. Much of the work, in the form of commentaries on the uṇādi-sūtras and allied lexicons, is yet to be published. I could consult only two manuscripts which I have included in the present work under the names 'Manuscript A' and 'Manuscript B'. The work is otherwise confined to the published works and commentaries which merit attention in the treatment of the uṇādi-sūtras with regard to their etymological importance, nature, etc.

The concept of 'prakṛti and pratyaya' has been observed in the uṇādi-sūtras but this principle does not go very far and has often been sacrificed at the altar of the swaying trend of grammaticalising every word, prevalent at the time when these sūtras were composed. To quote Raghavan in this regard, "The uṇādis represent the attempts of the school of etymologists or Nairuktas and a school of grammarians (Vaiyākaraṇas) headed by Śākaṭāyana who believed that every word should rather be derived somehow than not."¹

The first chapter 'Background and Technique of the Uṇādi-sūtras' contains observations and investigations in this direction. It tells how the etymological tendencies in the Brāhmaṇas culminated in the Nirukta, which, in turn, contributed to the making of the uṇādi-sūtras. Yāska alludes to this heated controversy over the origin of nouns. It has been propounded that Pāṇini adopted a reconciliatory path and wrote the uṇādi-sūtras as an appendix to his grammar proper. The nature and characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras have further been dealt with and their technique has been compared with that adopted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. That the six

grammatical devices (i) anuvṛtti (ii) adhikāra (iii) praśleṣa (iv) apakarṣa (v) maṇḍūkapluti and (vi) prakīrṇaka are met with in the uṇādi-sūtras, is a part of the study done in this chapter. The technical terms bear the same implications and enjoin the same grammatical functions as is seen in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The anubandhas are very important to be noted in this connection. The functions of the anubandhas and their implications in the uṇādi-sūtras have been accorded a due treatment. A list of the uṇādi-affixes along with the anubandhas and the relevant Pāṇinian sūtras which regulate the functions of the anubandhas in uṇādi-sūtras, has been given at the end of the first chapter.

The second chapter deals with the authorship and chronology of the uṇādi-sūtras. The views of those who ascribe these sūtras to Śākaṭāyana, Āpīśali and Kātyāyana have been properly evaluated and it has been put forth in a logical manner that it is Pāṇini who wrote them. The uṇādi-sūtras being the creation of Pāṇini, it is reasonable to date them about 500 B.C.

The third chapter gives an account of the nature and contents of the Pañcapādī and Daśapādī recensions of the uṇādi-sūtras. The following important commentaries along with the 'Manuscript A' have been studied in respect of their authorship, time, importance, characteristics, etc. :

- (1) The Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta.
- (2) The Uṇādi-vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin.
- (3) The Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.
- (4) The Siddhānta Kaumudī, Praudha Manoramā and allied commentaries.
- (5) The Uṇādikośa of Mahādevavedāntin.
- (6) The Auṇādikapadārṇava.
- (7) The Uṇādi-kośa of Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī.
- (8) The Daśapādyuṇādivṛtti of Māṇikyadeva.
- (9) The Prasāda of Māṇikyadeva.
- (10) Manuscript A.

These commentaries throw a flood of light on the characteristics and importance of the uṇādi-sūtras. All these commentaries also quote the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī relevant to the process of

the derivation of the uṇādi-words. The etymological exposition of the uṇādi-words given in the commentaries is of great utility from the linguistic point of view. The commentary of Ujjvaladatta is the best of all the available commentaries on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras, as it exhausts every source that could provide information about the uṇādi-sūtras.

The textual variations have been dealt with in the fourth chapter. An attempt at determining the correct reading of the major variations has been made with the help of various commentaries, rules of accents, usage, etc. An exhaustive list of the variations has been given in the second part of the chapter.

The fifth chapter deals with the Post-Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras and their commentaries. It has been shown that these sūtras have their origin in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. Every subsequent school of grammar made the best use of the preceding system or systems of Sanskrit grammar.

I deem it my pleasant duty to acknowledge my gratitude to all those scholars and grammarians whose works have proved helpful in my research one way or the other. Particularly for the views on the authorship of the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras, I express my gratitude to Shri K.B. Pathak. All such works have been listed in the bibliography and have also been referred to in the body of the present work wherever necessary. At last, I want to express my indebtedness to Pt. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, who helped me procure the two manuscripts mentioned above and other rare books on the uṇādi-sūtras. He, from time to time, also gave his valuable suggestions regarding the problems of the uṇādi-sūtras.

□□

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
A.P.	Auṇādika Padārṇava of Perusūri
B.K.U.	The Uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja and the Kātantra (with the commentaries of Daṇḍanāthanārāyaṇa and Durgasimha)
B.M.	Bālamānoramā
B.S.S.	Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara
Catalogue	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts ed. M.M. Haraprasāda Śāstrī.
C.U.	The Uṇādi-sūtras of Candracārya
Dictionary	A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar
D.P.	Daśapādī ed. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka
H.P.	Haima-prakāśa-mahāvyaākaraṇa
H.U.	The Uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra
Itihāsa	Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa Śāstra Kā Itihāsa
Ka.	Kāśikā
KN.	Kāśikā Nyāsa or Kāśikā Vivaraṇa Pañjikā
K.U.D.	Durgasimha on the Kātantra-uṇādi-sūtras
MBH.	Mahābhāṣya
M.D.	Mādhavīyā Dhātuvṛtti
Ms.	Manuscript
N.C.C.	New Catalogus Catalogorum
Nir.	Nirukta
Pa.	The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini
Pāṇini	Pāṇini and His Place in Sanskrit Literature by Goldstücker
P.K.	Prakriyā Kaumudī
P.M.	Prauḍha Manoramā
S.K.	The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja

Sk.	Siddhānta Kaumudī by S.C. Vasu
SP.	Supadmavyākaraṇa
S.V.	Sārasvatavyākaraṇa
Sv.	Śvetavanavāsin
Systems	Systems of Sanskrit Grammar
T.B.U.	Tattvabodhinī on the uṇādi-sūtras
Technique	Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit grammar
Ujj.	Ujjvaladatta
U.K.D.	The Uṇādikośa of Dayānanda Sarasvatī
U.K.M.	The Uṇādikośa of Mahādevavedāntin
U.S.N.	The Uṇādisūtravṛtti of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Uṇādikhanda of Prakriyāsarvasva)
U.S.S.	The Uṇādisūtra-vṛtti of Śvetavanvāsin
U.S.Sk.	Uṇādisūtras in the Siddhānta Kaumudī
U.S.U.	The Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta
U.T.B.	Uṇādi-sūtras in the Tattvabodhinī

1

BACKGROUND AND TECHNIQUE OF THE UṆĀDI-SŪTRAS

Brief Introduction

Grammar is one of the six ancillary sciences which are essential for the proper understanding of the Vedas. It has a very old tradition. We meet with the earliest speculations of grammatical nature in the Vedas. Haraprasāda Śāstrī¹ says in this regard, "Passages which are considered to talk of grammatical speculations may be otherwise explained, or, if they speak of grammar in any sense, it is of the most primitive kind." This grammatical tendency developed gradually, as we see a more conscious effort in the Brāhmaṇical literature. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa furnishes an example to this effect.² It was in the next period that there came into being various manuals on phonetics which deal with letters, accents, quantity, pronunciation and euphonic rules.³ The post-prātiśākhya period might have witnessed a rise of a number of schools of Sanskrit grammar established by the grammarians like, Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarmaṇa, Bhāradvāja, Śākalya, Śākaṭāyana, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana who have respectfully been referred to by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. The extinction of the Pre-Pāṇinian schools of grammar can be attributed to the extensive recognition of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in which the author has ably blended his originality with the careful and ingenious borrowings from the texts of the old grammarians. A careful glance

1. Catalogue, Preface, p. XXX.
2. अथ ओङ्कारं पृच्छामः को धातुः किं प्रातिपदिकं, किं नामाख्यातम्, किं लिङ्गं, किं वचनं, का विभक्तिः, कः प्रत्ययः, कः स्वरः उपसर्गो निपातः, किं वै व्याकरणं, को विकारः, को विकारी, कतिमात्रः, कतिवर्णः, कत्यक्षरः, कतिपदः, कः संयोगः। Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, I, p. 24.
3. Systems, p.4.

at the Sanskrit grammatical tradition shows that Sanskrit grammar had been growing more and more scientific and technical before it attained its culmination in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The five-fold division¹ of Sanskrit grammar bears out this fact. The five divisions are (1) sūtra-pāṭha (2) dhātu-pāṭha (3) gaṇa-pāṭha (4) uṇādi-pāṭha and (5) līṅānuśāsana. The sūtra-pāṭha forms the principal section of Sanskrit grammar and the remaining four sections are appended to it. At first, Sanskrit grammar formed a single volume comprising sūtra-pāṭha and khila-pāṭha as its proper sections.² The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja, which incorporates into its text the vārttikas, the uṇādi-sūtras, the gaṇa-pāṭhas, the paribhāṣas and the phīṭ-sūtras bears out this view.

Etymological Background

The uṇādi-pāṭha or the uṇādi-sūtras look like an attempt at the logical vindication of Śākaṭāyana's view that all the words without any exception whatsoever can be derived with the addition of affixes to the verbal roots. Uma Shankar Dixit implicitly maintains the same view when he says that the scientific character of etymology lost colour with the introduction of the uṇādi-sūtras which were lax in nature.³ Regarding the looseness of the uṇādi-sūtras, he refers to popular anecdote : A Sanskrit scholar succeeded in deriving some Persian words 'miyā', 'muluka' and 'molana' from the root $\sqrt{mā}$ 'to measure' with the addition of the imaginative uṇādi-affixes 'ḍiyā', 'ḍuluka' and 'ḍolanā'. The 'ṭi' of $\sqrt{mā}$ is elided as the affixes are 'ḍit'.⁴

In the olden times all the words, nominals and indeclinables were looked on as root-born and as such the Sanskrit grammar must have naturally been enormously huge. The voluminous grammatical text of Mahendra, which has been mentioned by Devabodha in his commentary Jñāna-dīpikā on the Mahābhārata

1. यदि श्रीसिद्धराजः सहायीभवति तदा कतिपयैरेव दिनैः पञ्चाङ्गमपि नूतनं व्याकरणं रचयामः।

Prabandha Cintāmaṇi, p.60.

2. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p.3.

3. Hindi Nirukta, Intro., p. 131.

4. उणादि से जो प्रत्यय लिये, डियाँ डुलुक, डोलना।

मा धातु से सिद्ध किया मियाँ मुलुक मोलना ॥

— Quoted in Hindi Nirukta, Intro., p. 131.

might serve as an instance of this kind.¹ Every word was traced to its root. With the passage of time, this tradition lost its hold on the grammarians, who began to love brevity. The volume of Sanskrit grammar shrank gradually. The gaṇa-pāṭha, dhātu-pāṭha and uṇādi-sūtras became appendices to the sūtra-pāṭha or śabdānuśāsana proper. The students of Sanskrit grammar began to lose interest in the appendices. As a result the root-affix-relation became incomprehensible to them and the words fell under two classes : (1) words which can be traced to their roots. (2) words which cannot be traced to their roots.

It probably led to the controversy Yāska alludes to in his Nirukta.² Grammarian Śākaṭāyana and the etymologists traced all the nominal stems to verbal roots, while Etymologist Gārgya and some grammarians declared that all the nouns could not be traced to their roots. Yāska discusses this controversial issue at length and concludes that all the nouns are root-born. This heated controversy might have stimulated a number of moderate grammarians to find out a way which could be acceptable to both the factions. To quote Macdonell in this regard 'Pāṇini makes a concession to Gārgya's objection by excluding all the words the derivation of which is difficult owing to their form or meaning, such as aśva, 'horse', go 'cow' and puruṣa 'man'. The primary nouns of this kind had been collected before Pāṇini's time in a special list, in which they were often forcibly derived from verbal roots by means of a number of special suffixes. The first of these suffixes being 'u', technically called 'uṇ', the whole list of these formations came to be known as uṇādi. Pāṇini refers to all such words as readymade stems, the formation of which does not concern him.'³ As will be seen from the uṇādi-sūtras themselves, the derivation in most cases hardly

1. न दृष्ट इति वैयासे शब्दे मा संशयं कृथाः ।

अज्ञैरज्ञातमित्येवं पदं न हि न विद्यते ॥

यान्युज्जहार माहेन्द्रदाद व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।

पदरत्नानि किं तानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्पदे ॥

— Quoted in Itihāsa, Vol. I, p.43.

2. तत्र नामानि आख्यातजानि इति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणि इति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चेके । Nir., I.12.

3. A Sanskrit Grammar, Macdonell, Intro., p. xii.

brings out the meanings of the derived words. Carrying Śākāyana's view to its extreme limit that all the words must somehow or the other be derived from verbal roots, it does not matter much even if the meaning of the word has no relation with the meaning of the basic root.¹

A fanciful example is provided by the Nyāsakāra². The word 'ḍavittā' means a wooden toy-deer. The phonetically nearest root is 'ḍīn' and so the affix should be 'tha', with the augment 'avit'. To get 'ḍ' from 'ḍī', we may have recourse to an affix with the anubandha 'ḍ'. So the rule would be 'ḍīnaśca ḍid ḍavicca'. Similarly 'ṛphīḍa' and 'ṛphīḍa' may be derived from √ṛ by the addition of 'phīḍa' and 'phīḍa'. The rule accordingly obtained would be 'arteḥ phīḍaphīḍau'.

Evidently this is not a derivation but merely a result of such an etymological speculation as we come across in the Nirukta. All that can be said in favour of the uṇādi derivations is that they fairly determine the correct spellings of words.³ Patañjali was aware that such derivations are no derivations at all. The words derived are conventional in the sense that the derivation does not yield the sense⁴ and words ending with the affixes 'uṇ', etc. do not really admit of a division into the base and the affix. However, they are treated of as if they were derivable and so the ordinary rules of grammar would apply to the uṇādi-sūtras, but Nāgeśa has something different to say— 'How can derivation be accepted there, if from such derivations we cannot understand the meaning of the constituent parts ?'⁵ Rajwade, too, says that the principles observed in the Nirukta are responsible for unnatural derivations. In brief, these principles are wrong. The theory underlying the derivations in the uṇādi-sūtras consists in developing words out of roots apparent in them.⁶

1. उणादिप्रत्ययान्ताः संज्ञाशब्दाः (तेषां) यथाकथञ्चिद् व्युत्पत्तिः। तेन क उपपदार्थः कोऽपि प्रकृत्यर्थः कश्च प्रत्ययार्थः इत्यभिनिवेशो न कार्यः। U.S.S., V – 1.
2. KN on 3.3.1.
3. स्वरूपसंवेदनस्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीमात्रफलम् अन्वाख्यानम्। U.S.S. I – i.
4. उणादयो ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि। MBH. 3.4.77. Vārtika 3. MBH. 6.1.162. Vārtika 5. MBH. 7.3.50. Vārtikas, 2-3. MBH. 8.3.59. Vārtika 1.
5. उणादिमुत्रेषु लाघवगौरवचिन्ता न कार्या, बाहुलकप्रपञ्चत्वादिति अयामन्तेति सूत्रे ध्वनितम्। प्रायः उणादिप्रत्ययान्ता रूढिशब्दाः, अवयवार्थशून्याः, असन्तमपि अवयवार्थमाश्रित्य व्युत्पाद्यन्ते। B.S.S. Vol. III, p. 2078।
6. Nir., Rajwade, Intro. p. xliv.

However, it becomes necessary to tell how etymology had its impact on the uṇādi-sūtras in order to assess the nature of these sūtras correctly. The etymological tendencies found currency in the Brāhmaṇical literature. If we pool all the etymologies from the Brāhmaṇas, it becomes quite clear that Yāska's Nirukta is heavily drawn on them. It may be said that the etymological tendencies found culmination in the Nirukta of Yāska.

From a comparison of the uṇādi-sūtras with the etymologies of Yāska, it is evident that the uṇādi-sūtras appear to be an intelligent grammatical adaptation of Yāska's etymological explanations. There are a number of examples which throw a flood of light on these points of similarity. However, it does not mean that the points of difference are not worth paying attention to.¹

I. Uṇādisūtras (Ujvaladatta)

1. ताडेर्णिलुक्च। I. 100.
2. उन्देर्णिच्चादेः। I. 13.
3. अश्लुषिलटिकणखटिविशिभ्यः क्वन्। I. 151.
4. प्रथेः षिवन् सम्प्रसारणम् च। I. 150
5. भियः षुग्व (भोमः-भोष्मः)। I. 147.
6. उषिकुषिगर्तिभ्यस्थन्। II. 4.
7. दृदक्षिभ्यामिनन्। II. 50.
8. आप्नोतेर्हस्वश्च। II. 58
9. रोदेर्णिलुक् च। II. 22
10. रातेर्देः। II. 66
11. गमेर्देः। II. 67
12. कृदाधारार्चिकलिभ्यः कः। III. 40
13. स्नुव्रश्चिक्त्पृषिभ्यः कित्। III. 66
14. अञ्जिपृषिभ्यः क्तः। III. 89
15. प्रथिमदिभ्रस्जां (कुः) सम्प्रसारणम् सलोपश्च। I. 29
- पृषिर्जिभ्यां (अतच्) कित्। III. 111
16. लक्ष्मर्मुट् च। III. 160
17. राशदिभ्याम् त्रिप्। IV. 67.
18. स्त्यायतेर्ईट्। IV. 165.
19. श्मनि श्रयतेर्ईट्। V. 29

Nirukta (Rajwade)

- ताडयतीति सतः। III. 10.
- इन्दुरिन्धेरुनतेर्वा। X. 41.
- अश्वः कस्मादश्नुतेऽध्वानम्। II. 27.
- प्रथनात् पृथिवी इत्याहु। I. 13.
- भोमो बिभ्यत्यस्माद् भोष्मोप्येतस्मादेव। I. 20.
- स्थाणुस्तिष्ठतेरथोर्तेः। I. 7.
- द्रविणं यदनेनाभिद्रवन्ति दक्षिणा दक्षतेः। VIII. 12.
- आपः आप्नोतेः। X. 27
- रुद्रः रोदयतेर्वा। III. 21
- रयि इति धननाम रातेर्दानकर्मणः।
- गौरिति पृथिव्या नामधेयं यद् दूरंगता भवति यच्चास्यां भूतानि गच्छन्ति। II. 5
- राका रातेर्दानकर्मणः। XI. 31
- वृक्षो व्रश्चनात्। II. 6
- घृतमित्युदकनाम जिघर्तेः सिञ्चितकर्मणः। VII. 24
- तत्रापि एकेऽल्पनिष्पत्तयो भवन्ति। तद्यथैतदूति-मृदुः पृथुः पृषतः कुणारमिति। II. 2
- लक्ष्मीर्लक्षणाद्वा। IV. 9
- रात्रिः कस्मात् ? रातेर्वा स्यात् दानकर्मणः। II. 18
- स्त्रियः स्त्यायतेः अपत्रपणकर्मणः। III. 21
- श्मश्रु श्मनि श्रितं भवति। III. 5

Technique

The purpose of grammar is to establish the law of the correctness of speech,¹ and the grammar fulfils it by invoking the conception of 'prakṛti and pratyaya'. For this every grammarian must have a plan to describe a language. The method invariably influenced by his characteristic plan, is the technique that he uses in his work. The descriptive technique of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is also discerned in the uṇādi-sūtras with the only difference that whereas Pāṇini² adopts a sober and a thoroughly mechanistic description of the formation of regular words by means of a functional analysis of the word-forms, he becomes considerably lenient in the uṇādi-sūtras, giving Whitney the opportunity of terming his uṇādi-affixes as 'less regular affixes'.³ Regularity, indeed, lacks here. The goal of Pāṇini's grammar is the description of the formulational process of the complex forms of Sanskrit language out of simple elements such as prakṛti, pratyaya, etc. This goal is attained by means of six kinds of aphoristic statements: (1) saṁjñā-sūtras, (2) paribhāṣā-sūtras, (3) vidhi-sūtras, (4) niyama-sūtras, (5) atideśa-sūtras, (6) adhikāra-sūtras.⁴ But the uṇādi-sūtras are a list of vidhi-sūtras with the exception of one niyama-sūtra, that is, 'civavyayam' (II-65). The uṇādi-sūtras require the functional extension of the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī for the process of the formation of words. The salient features of the uṇādi-sūtras do resemble those adopted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Assuming that the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras are a genuine constituent portion of Pāṇini's grammar, no doubt with reservation, we can still derive some benefit by studying the characteristics and technique of the uṇādi-sūtras.

Patañjali introduces the present subject and throws a flood of light on the features of the uṇādi-sūtras. He tells us that the uṇādi-

sūtras represent the ocean of words, which have not been regulated by the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The concerned portion of the Mahābhāṣya, throws some light on this aspect. When translated, it reads as follows :

The 'bāhulakam' in the sūtra is intended to point out the small number of verbal bases, to which the uṇādi-affixes are added (in this uṇādi-treatise). Moreover, only a small number of uṇādi-affixes only are given here. The word 'bāhulakam' or 'bahulam' is also used to suggest that some operations such as vṛddhi, samprasāraṇa, etc. are but imperfectly described here because Vedic words and words current in society are excellent. Every noun is said to be derived from a verbal root in the Nirukta and Śākaṭāyana says the same thing in grammar. In case specific verbal roots or affixes are not given here, such roots are to be conjectured from the affixes given here, or such affixes are to be conjectured from verbal roots given here. In words possessing conventional meanings, forms of verbal roots appear first, then follow affixes ; indicatory letters can be distinguished by means of operations such as 'samprasāraṇa,' 'vṛddhi', etc. This is intended to be taught in the uṇādi-sūtras. Thus it should not be construed that these uṇādi-sūtras do not prescribe rules for the derivations of all the so-called conventional words. They are just symbolical.¹

To clarify the notions given in the kārikās, it is necessary to study carefully the views of Kaiyaṭa, Nāgeśa and Jinendrabuddhi. Jinendrabuddhi, in his Nyāsa on the Kāśikā, says that 'bāhulakam' has several connotations.² Abhyankar says that it is

1. Dictionary, p. 349.

2. The authorship of the uṇādi-sūtras is discussed at length in the following chapter. The assumption is that Pāṇini is the author of the uṇādi-sūtras.

3. Sanskrit Grammar, Whitney, p.419.

4. संज्ञा च परिभाषा च विधिर्नियम एव च।

अतिदेशोऽधिकारश्च षड्विधं सूत्रलक्षणम्॥ Nyāyakośa, p. 1031.

1. बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम्।
कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तम् नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य तोकम्।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे।
कार्याद् विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु॥ MBH. on Pa. 3.3.1.

2. KN, Vol. I, p. 672.

used, as a necessity, to arrive at some forms in literature especially in the Vedic literature as also in the works of standard writers, which cannot be explained easily by the regular application of the stated rules.¹ It undoubtedly equips the relevant rules with certain functional powers so as to derive the correct formation of words even by transgressing the grammatical regulations. To say it more lucidly, it denotes simultaneously four notions – (1) application, (2) non-application, (3) option, (4) something suited to the object.² He adds³ that in the Pañcapādī a small number of roots have been given. So by virtue of 'bāhulakam', affixes may be added to the roots, not covered by Pāṇini, to arrive at the desired formation of current words. The roots and affixes collected in the uṇādi-sūtras are symbolic. This is why we have been taught, in the context of the uṇādi-sūtras, how to derive unfamiliar words. Jinendrabuddhi extends his remarks on the device hinted at by Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (Pa. 3.3.1). The uṇādi-sūtra-'arteśca' (V-7) enjoins that a 'nit ati' should be appended to \sqrt{r} 'to go' to form the word 'arati' which means 'perplexity'. The uṇādi-sūtra (V-17) enunciates that 'kyuc' be affixed to the root \sqrt{r} 'to go' to form the word 'uraṇa' which means 'a sheep'. Here the affixes 'phiḍa' and 'phiḍḍa' have not been enjoined to be affixed to the root \sqrt{r} 'to go' but we do, therefore, come across 'rphiḍa' and 'rphiḍḍa' which should have been enjoined in the grammatical regulations as it is an evident responsibility of the grammar of a language to prescribe the formation of such words. The uṇādi-sūtras do not enunciate regulations for all the words which appear grammatically unfamiliar. So, the 'bahulam' is used to denote imperfection.⁴ That the uṇādi-sūtras bear symbolic characteristics is amply displayed in the advice for the grammatical formulations hinted at in the

1. Dictionary, p. 265.

2. क्वचित्प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति॥

3. KN, Vol. I, p. 673.

4. प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययाश्रितानि कार्याणि न निःशेषाणि पञ्चपाद्यां दर्शितानि। Ibid.

kārikā by Patañjali. Jinendrabuddhi elucidates this aspect by giving a couple of examples. The uṇādi-sūtra (II-4)¹ enjoins that the uṇādi-affix 'than' be added to the roots 'uṣa', 'kuṣa', 'gai' and 'ṛ' to derive the words - 'oṣṭha', 'koṣṭham', 'gāthā' and 'artha' respectively. On the basis of similarity, we would dissect the words dīththa and ḍavittha into two fundamental components - prakṛti and pratyaya. The affix 'than' being at our disposal, we should conduct search for the relevant prakṛti. The root $\sqrt{dī}$ 'to go' would be the most acceptable component to which the affix 'than' is to be added. To remove the deficiency, the two substitutes 'dīt' and 'ḍavit' have to be assumed. It will help us form the words 'dīththa' and 'ḍavittha' by conjecturing the similar roots as we have at our disposal and the suffix similar to a portion of the words to be derived.² He, further, illustrates the point by giving another instance where the affixes are to be surmised, as a portion of the desired words bears resemblance to some root which can be known from the dhātupāṭha.

The words 'rphiḍa' and 'rphiḍḍa' bear similarity with each other and also with the word 'ṛta'. Here 'ṛ' can easily be accepted as a verbal base and the remaining portions 'phiḍa' and 'phiḍḍa' may be conjectured as affixes. In this manner the sūtra would be like this 'arteḥ phiḍa-phiḍḍau'. So far as the absence of guṇa is concerned, it can be accounted for either by virtue of the

1. उषिकुषिगार्तिभ्यस्थन् । U.S.U., II. 4.

2. ततस्ताभ्यां तच्छब्दरूपमित्येतदप्यर्थादुक्तं भवति। न ह्यनवधारिताभ्यां प्रकृतिप्रत्ययाभ्यां शक्यं धातुजत्वं कस्यचिन्निश्चेतुमिति किमत्रायुक्तम्? यत्र प्रसिद्धप्रत्ययावयवेन शब्दान्तरेण कस्यचिद् भागस्य सारूप्याधिगमोऽस्ति तत्र प्रत्ययं दृष्ट्वा परिशिष्टो भागः प्रकृतित्वेनोत्प्रेक्षितव्यः। यथोषिकुषिगार्तिभ्यस्थन् इति ॥ थन् प्रत्ययान्तमोष्ठादिकं प्रसिद्धप्रत्ययावयवम्। तेन च डित्थडवित्थशब्दयोः किञ्चित् सारूप्यमस्ति। तथैषामिव हि तेषां थशब्दोऽवयवो विशिष्टदेशवर्ती विद्यते। तत्र थन्प्रत्ययान्ते शब्दरूपे यो दृष्टस्थशब्दप्रत्ययसंज्ञकस्तत्सादृश्यादित्थडवित्थशब्दस्थं थशब्दं प्रत्ययमवधार्य ततः परिशिष्टस्तयोर्भागे डिट्ठडवित्ति च धातुत्वेनोद्घातः। ततश्चैवं सूत्रं कर्तव्यं डीडस्थण्डिट्ठडवित्ति। डीड् विहायसा गतावित्यस्मात् थन्प्रत्ययः। डीडश्च डिट्ठडवित्येतावादेशौ भवतः। KN., on Pa. 3.3.1.

characteristic 'bahulam' or by rendering these uṇādi-affixes 'kit'.¹

The order and arrangement of the uṇādi-sūtras bear the same characteristics as are displayed in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. That they have been separated from the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and that they have been appended to the Aṣṭādhyāyī, is enough to show that they lack the well-knit formulation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The six devices which form the requisite qualifications of Sanskrit grammar are also, to some extent, discerned in the uṇādi-sūtras when they are accorded a careful study. These six devices, namely (1) anuvṛtti, (2) āvṛtti, (3) praśleṣa, (4) maṇḍūkapluti, (5) apakarṣa, (6) prakīrṇaka -- are adopted in Sanskrit grammar to achieve brevity.

(1) Anuvṛtti : It is a repetition or recurrence of a word from the previous to the subsequent rule or rules, which is necessary for the sake of intended interpretation.² So far as the uṇādi-sūtras are concerned, the anuvṛtti is invariably present, permeating the whole uṇādi-pāṭha, to give a clear meaning of each and every sūtra. A good number of examples of this kind can be given. The sūtras I - 7 to I - 22 (Ujj.) and I - 23 to I - 38 (Ujj.) are, however, examples to this effect.

(2) Āvṛtti : It is also a repetition but it differs a great deal from anuvṛtti which means the extension of some words from the preceding sūtras to the subsequent sūtras, while āvṛtti consists in the recurrence of a pada in the following sūtras a number of times to give a specific sense. It is more or less an attribute of adhikārasūtra. For example, the sūtra 'aṅgasya' (Pa. 6.4.1) is an adhikāra sūtra and extends itself to the subsequent sūtras upto a

1. यत्र तु शब्दरूपे निर्जातधात्ववयवेन शब्दान्तरेण किञ्चिद् भागगतं सारूप्यमस्ति तत्र प्रकृतिं दृष्ट्वा परिशिष्टो भागः प्रत्ययत्वेनोहितव्यः। यथा ऋतमिति दृष्टं शब्दरूपम् प्रसिद्धप्रकृत्यवयवम्। तेन ऋफिडशब्दस्य च किञ्चिद्भागगतं सारूप्यमस्ति। उभयेषां तेषामुकारादित्वात्। तत्र निष्ठाप्रत्ययान्तऋतशब्दे य ऋकारावयवो धातुसंज्ञकस्तत्सा-दृश्यादृफिडऋफिडशब्दस्य च ऋवर्णं धातुमवधार्य ततः परिशिष्टस्तयोर्भागः फिड इति फिड् इति च प्रत्ययत्वेनोह्यः। ततश्चैवं सूत्रं कर्तव्यम्। अर्तेः फिडफिड्ङाविति। ऋगतावित्यस्मात् फिडफिड्ङौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः। ऋफिड-ऋफिड्ङः। गुणः पूर्वोक्तात् कारणान्न भवति। अथवा कितावेवैतौ प्रत्ययौ विधातव्यौ। KN, on Pa. 3.3.1.

2. Dictionary, p. 25.

certain limit. The seventeen sūtras given at the beginning of his commentary by Ujjvaladatta may serve as an example of this kind.¹

(3) Praśleṣa : It is an attempt at 'finding out the presence of a letter in addition to the letters already present as coalesced, after splitting the combination into its different constituent letters. This practice of finding out an additional letter is resorted to by the commentators only to remove certain difficulties in arriving at some correct form which otherwise could not be obtained.'² 'Kṛiti ca' is an example of this kind. The conjunct letter 'kṛ' is believed to be a conjunction of 'g', 'k', and 'ṛ'. The Aṣṭādhyāyī has a fairly good number of such instances but in the uṇādi-sūtras it is a rare feature. On the uṇādi-sūtra 'tro raśca la' Jñānendra Sarasvatī³ and Perusūri⁴ refer to the device of praśleṣa.

(4) Maṇḍūkapluti : As the word itself explains, it means the jump of a frog. In the words of Abhyankar it is 'the continuation of a word from a preceding sūtra to the following sūtra or sūtras in the manner of a frog by skipping one or more sūtras in the middle',⁵ we are informed of this technical device twice by Śvetavanavāsin in his Uṇādivṛtti. The extension of 'kit' from the uṇādi-sūtra (I - 66 Sv.) to the sūtra (I-68) 'arteścatu' is necessary, in order that gunation may be debarred. The sūtra (I - 67 Sv.) comes in between which does not need 'kit'. So this anuvṛtti is said to be present in the manner of a frog.⁶ Śvetavanavāsin at another place tells us how maṇḍūkapluti can be exploited. The uṇādi-sūtra 'srjerasum' (I - 15 Sv.) enjoins the uṇādi-affix 'u' and also the augment 'asum' to the root 'srj'. According to 'midaco'ntyāt

1. U.S.U., p.2.; see also U.S.S., p. 138.

2. Dictionary, p. 253.

3. त्रः रश्चेतिच्छेदः। केचित्तु त् ऋ इति प्रश्लेष्य द्वयोरपि सवर्णे दीर्घे त्रौ तयोस्त्रोरित्युक्त्वा ऋ गतावित्यस्मादपि जुण् रस्य ल इति व्याख्याय इयति अर्यते वा आलुः शाकविशेषो घटी चेत्याहुः। T.B.U., I. 5.

4. तालु स्यात्काकुदे क्लीबम्प्रश्लेषमते त्विह।

सिध्यत्यालुशाकभेदे घट्यामप्येष कथ्यते॥ A.P., p.11.

5. Dictionary, p. 276.

6. मण्डूकप्लुत्या वा 'किच्च' इति किद्ग्रहणमनुवर्तते। U.S.S., I. 68.

parah', the augment will come after the last vowel, that is, 'r' (sr-
asum-j and u). The elision of the initial 'sakāra' is inevitable as is
required by the desired word 'rajju', but which 'sakāra' should
undergo elision is not clear from the sūtra itself. Unlike other
commentators Śvetavanavāsin offers two ways and does not resort
to the characteristic 'bahulam' only. There is no scope for the
elision of 'sakāra' as it is not enjoined in the sūtra or we can have
'ādeḥ' in the present sūtra (I-15 Sv.) from the sūtra (I-12 Sv.) by
way of maṇḍūkapluti, leaving two sūtras in the middle. The latter
device seems to be better than the former.

(5) Apakarṣa : It is another form of anuvṛtti which consists in
the extension of some word or words from a sūtra to the preceding
sūtra or sūtras. This technical device is not found in the uṇādi-
sūtras.

(6) Prakīrṇaka : It is a collection of two or more sūtras to give
a specific sense. It is also not found in the uṇādi-sūtras.

Moreover, yogavibhāga is a frequent feature in the uṇādi-
treatise. It means 'the division of a rule which has been tradition-
ally given as one single rule, into two for explaining the formation
of certain words, which otherwise are likely to be stamped as
ungrammatical formations.'¹ At some places in the uṇādi com-
mentaries, the yogavibhāga has been hinted at, which is obviously
done to serve a grammatical purpose. Ujjvaladatta in his Uṇādi-
vṛtti takes note of it and even questions the validity of the very
yogavibhāga itself. Although this method is resorted to to remove
certain anomalies, yet it need not be sought after after the fashion
of Patañjali and Kātyāyana. Being replete with flexibilities, the
uṇādi-sūtras are vulnerable to interpolations and distortions. When
the observations of Ujjvaladatta are taken into account, it seems
that the extant uṇādi-sūtras might have been handed down to us
after a considerable distortion. The sūtras (V.68-69 Ujj.) have
unnecessarily been made to undergo the operation of yogavibhāga.
It serves no purpose. The sūtra (V. 68 Ujj.) enjoins the derivation
of 'prathama' and (V. 69 Ujj.) derives 'carama'. Had these sūtras
been presented as a single sūtra like 'prathicaribhyāmac', it

would have been more appropriate.¹ On the contrary the uṇādi-
sūtras (IV-124 and IV-125 Ujj.) have been divided purposefully by
virtue of which the word incurs accent on the last syllable by the
sūtra 'samāsasya' (Pa. 6.1.223).² The division of the sūtras
(II-84, II-85 Ujj.) has a purpose to debar the working of 'ṣaṭṛ' in
the sūtra (II-85 Ujj.).³ The sūtra (II-57 Ujj.) also refers to the
device of yogavibhāga.⁴ Another example is found in the
Tattvabodhinī.⁵

Technical Terms

'In a highly inflected language like Sanskrit, grammar is an
absolutely essential branch of study. And though in the early days
people were gifted with prodigious memories, the demands of
sacrifices and other things made them anxious to finish off the
study of grammar proper in as short a period as possible. This gave
rise to the principle of brevity.'⁶ That is why the whole intellectual
energy was directed to attain pithiness. The process began just
before Pāṇini.⁷ Pāṇini also had to exert himself to improve upon
his predecessors. Though he borrowed a good many devices and
technical terms from the preceding grammarians, yet he had a
striking novelty to his credit. He gave them a new function to
perform in his grammar. The technical terms and devices which
are found in the uṇādi-sūtras undergo the same grammatical
operations as occur in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The technical terms which
have been used in the uṇādi-sūtras are as follows:—

- (1) abhyāsa (2) upadhā (3) udātta (4) upapada (5) kāraka
- (6) gati (7) ṭi (8) dīrgha (9) hrasva (10) vṛddhi (11) samprasāraṇa
- (12) guṇa.

1. योगविभागप्रयोजनं चिन्त्यम्। U.S.U., V.69.
2. योगविभागेन समासान्तः पदमनाभः। Ibid., IV.124.
3. वर्तमाने पृषद्बृहन्महज्जगच्छत्वच्च। Ibid., II.84.
संश्चतुषद्वेहत्। Ibid., II.85
पृथग्योगकरणं शतवत्कार्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। Ibid., p.89
4. इह क्विबिति योगविभागाच्छेषः। Ibid., II.57.
5. सुवः कन् - चिक्र च - योगविभागः उत्तरार्थः। T.B.U., II-63.
6. Technique, p. 2.
7. Technique, p. 2.

(1) Abhyāsa : The technical sense of the word 'abhyāsa' in the grammar of Pāṇini falls within the purview of 'reduplication'. It refers to the first portion of the reduplicated root. It is frequently found in the uṇādi-sūtras in the same sense. Two or three words which occasion the scope for 'abhyāsa' are 'sanvat', 'dve' and 'ślu'¹ which are important to be mentioned in this connection.

Upadhā : It means the penultimate letter of a word. It is not altogether a new term in the uṇādi-sūtras. In the same sense Yāska uses it in the Nirukta.² Pāṇini defines it in the sūtra 'alo' ntyāt purva upadhā' which means the last but one letter. The term in the sense of a penult has been used in about eight uṇādi-sūtras.³

Udātta : Accent is a property of the vowels and consonants do not possess any independent accent. Pāṇini defines udātta in the sūtra 'uccairudāttaḥ'. This acute accent is the prominent one in a word. This term occurs in about three uṇādi-sūtras.⁴

1. 1. शः कित्सन्वच्च। U.S.U., I - 21.
2. जहातेः सन्वदालोपश्च। Ibid. I - 40.
3. यो द्वे च। Ibid., I - 22.
4. हुवः श्लुवच्च। Ibid., II - 60.
5. आङि शुषेः सन्वच्छन्दसि। Ibid., II - 104.
6. गमेः सन्वच्च। Ibid., III - 31.
7. जहातेर्द्वे अन्तलोपश्च। Ibid., III - 34.
8. तनोतेर्द्वे सन्वच्च। Ibid., V. 52.
9. शृपूवृजां द्वे रुक् चाभ्यासस्य। Ibid., IV. 19.
10. दिवो द्वे दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य। Ibid., IV. 55.
2. अथाप्युपधालोपो भवति जग्मतुर्जग्मुरिति। Nir., II. 1.
3. 1. चुपेरच्चोपधायाः। U.S.U., I - 110.
2. चकिरम्योरुच्चोपधायाः। Ibid., II - 14.
3. वनेरिच्चोपधायाः। Ibid., III - 8.
4. प्लुषेरच्चोपधायाः। Ibid., III - 63.
5. कमेः किदुच्चोपधायाः। Ibid., III - 138.
6. रपेरिच्चोपधायाः। Ibid., I - 27.
7. क्लिशोरिच्चोपधायाः कन्तलोपश्च लो नाम् च। Ibid., V - 56.
8. क्षमेरुपधालोपश्च। Ibid., V - 65.
4. जेमूट् चोदात्तः। U.S.U., III - 91.
- समाने ख्यः स चोदात्तः। Ibid., IV - 136.
- डित्खनेर्मुट् स च उदात्तः। Ibid., V - 20.

Upapada : It is a very important technical term so far as the relation of the uṇādi-sūtras to the Aṣṭādhyāyī is concerned. The term is exclusively meant for 'kṛt' suffixes which extend from Pa. III-1-90 to the end of the third adhyāya. Pāṇini defines it in the sūtra 'tatropapadam saptamīstham' (Pa. III-1-92). "In Pāṇini's grammar the term upapada is applied to such words as are put in the locative case by Pāṇini in his rules prescribing kṛt suffixes."¹ The same implication holds good in the case of the uṇādi-sūtras. Apart from its being used in one uṇādi-sūtra (IV-226 Ujj.) 'gatiḥ kārakayoḥ purvapadaprakṛtisvaratvaṁ ca' which is an exception to the sūtra Pa. 6.2.139 'gatiḥ kārakopapadāt kṛt', this term is frequently found in the uṇādi-sūtras in this technical sense. It occurs in as many as thirty sūtras.²

1. Dictionary, p. 79.
2. किल्लरयोः श्रिणः। U.S.U., I - 4.
- कृके वचः कश्च। Ibid., I - 6.
- नावञ्जेः। Ibid., I - 18.
- आङ्परयोः खनिशृभ्यां ङिच्च। Ibid., I - 34.
- हरिमितयोः द्ववः। Ibid., I - 35.
- शते च। Ibid., I - 36.
- शवशेषोपधौ। Ibid., I - 45.
- नजि व्यथेः। Ibid., I - 50.
- के श्र एरङ् चास्य। Ibid., I - 90.
- नजि जहातेः। Ibid., I - 147.
- अवे भृजः। Ibid., II - 3.
- अर्तेर्निरि। Ibid., II - 8.
- समीणः। Ibid., II - 11.
- वौ कसेः। Ibid., II - 15.
- दुरीणो लोपश्च। Ibid., II - 20.
- वाविन्धेः। Ibid., II - 26.
- समिकसेरुक्। Ibid., II - 29.
- प्राङि पणिकषः। Ibid., II - 41.
- आङि पाणिपनिपतिखनिभ्यः। Ibid., II - 45.
- परी व्रजेः षश्च पदान्ते। Ibid., II - 59.
- सम्यान् स्तुवः। Ibid., II - 89.
- नजि च नन्देः। Ibid., II - 99.

Kāraka : “The word ‘kāraka’, in short, means the capacity in which a thing becomes instrumental in bringing about an action.”¹ In the Aṣṭādhyāyī, by the paribhāṣā-sūtra ‘yena vidhistadantasya’ kāraka means a pada that ends in one of the kārakavibhaktis. Exactly in the same sense it is noticed in the uṇādi-sūtras.²

Gati : “A technical term used by Pāṇini in connection with prefixes and certain indeclinables which are called ‘gati’.”³ The words called ‘gati’ can be compounded with the words following them, provided the latter are not verbs, the compound being named ‘tatpuruṣa’. In the sūtra mentioned above, the term ‘gati’ denotes all these implications which are characteristic of the term ‘gati’ in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Ṭi : Ṭi is defined either as the final syllable beginning with a vowel or as part of a word consisting of the final vowel in a word and the consonants following the final vowel. This is what ‘aco’ ntyādi ṭi’ (Pa. 1.1.64) means. This technical term is used in the uṇādi-sūtras in exactly the same sense.⁴

Ḍirgha : “A term used in connection with the lengthened tone of a vowel described to be ‘dvimātra’ as contrasted with ‘hrasva’ having one mātrā.”⁵ The terms, hrasva and ḍirgha occur in as

सव्ये स्थश्छन्दसि। U.S.U., II - 102.

आङि शुषेस्सनश्छन्दसि। Ibid., II - 104.

वसौ रुचेः संज्ञायाम्। Ibid., II - 112.

नौ हः। Ibid., III - 44.

नज्याप इट् च। Ibid., III - 87.

उपसर्गे वसेः। Ibid., III - 114.

समाने ख्यः स चोदात्तः। Ibid., IV - 136.

आङि श्रिहनिभ्यां ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., IV - 137.

1. Dictionary, p. 110.

2. गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वञ्च। U.S.U., IV - 136.

3. Pa. I. 4. 60-79.

4. अवतेष्टिलोपश्च। U.S.U., I - 141.

मृजेष्टिलोपश्च। Ibid., I - 109.

5. Dictionary, p. 184.

many as twenty-four sūtras.¹

Ṽrddhi : It is a term which denotes the vowels ‘ā’, ‘ai’ and ‘au’ as given in the sūtra ‘ṛddhirādaic’ Pa. I.1.1. This term is used in the same sense in seven uṇādi-sūtras.²

Samprasāraṇa : It is the process of changing a semivowel into a simple vowel of the same ‘sthāna’ or place of utterance; the

1. दीर्घः

अमितम्योर्दीर्घश्च। U.S.U., II - 16.

अर्देर्दीर्घश्च। Ibid., II - 18.

शुसिचिमीनां दीर्घश्च। Ibid., II - 25.

मुषेर्दीर्घश्च। Ibid., II - 42.

तिजेर्दीर्घश्च। Ibid., III - 18.

स्तुवो दीर्घश्च। Ibid., III - 25.

अजियुधूनीभ्यो दीर्घश्च। Ibid., III - 47.

मनेर्दीर्घश्च। Ibid., III - 64.

दुत्तनिभ्यां दीर्घश्च। Ibid., III - 90.

कुवश्चट् दीर्घश्च। Ibid., IV - 91.

नौ व्यो यलोपः पूर्वस्य च दीर्घः। Ibid., IV - 135.

ह्रस्वः

शृणातेर्ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., I - 123.

छो गुग् ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., I - 110.

दृणातेः शुग् ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., I - 128.

भियः शुग् ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., I - 135.

वेपितुहोर्ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., II - 53.

आप्नोतेर्ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., II - 59.

ईषेः किट् ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., IV - 21.

आङि श्रिहनिभ्यां ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., IV - 137.

दृणातेर्ह्रस्वः। Ibid., IV - 183.

प्रीयुक्वणिभ्यां कालन् ह्रस्वः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., III - 76.

शीडो ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., V - 24.

पूडो यण्लुग् ह्रस्वश्च। Ibid., V - 15.

लीङ्शीडो ह्रस्वश्च पुट् च तरौ श्लेषणकुत्सितयोः। Ibid., V - 55.

2. रमेर्वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., I - 101.

आतृकन्वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., I - 80.

यतेर्वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., II - 97.

वृतेर्वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., III - 79.

कृषेर्वृद्धिश्छन्दसि। Ibid., IV - 126.

भ्रस्जिगमिनमिहनिविश्यशां वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., IV-159.

क्रमिगमिश्चिभ्यस्तुन्वृद्धिश्च। Ibid., V-43.

substitution of the vowels i, u, ṛ, and ̐ for the semi-vowels y, v, r, and l respectively.¹ In about twelve uṇādi-sūtras the term reflects the same implications as it does in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.²

Guṇa: 'It denotes a degree of a vowel.'³ Pāṇini has enumerated the vowels which can be called guṇa. They are short 'a', 'e' and 'o'.⁴

Functions of the anubandhas in the uṇādi-sūtras :

An anubandha is a letter that is attached to a stem (prakṛti), affix (pratyaya), augment (āgama) or a substitute (ādeśa) to indicate the occurrence of some special grammatical functions such as 'vikaraṇa', 'āgama', 'guṇa' or 'vṛddhi', 'accent' etc., but which, when the finished word (pada) is ready or formed, is no longer extant and is dropped in consonance with the designation 'it' given to it.⁵ The Nyāyakośa says that an anubandha is the name given to a letter (or a group of letters) that is attached to prakṛti, pratyaya, etc. to indicate the occurrence of certain grammatical operations such as substitution by the guṇa or vṛddhi, their prevention, accentuation, etc. in the base to which they are

1. Dictionary, p. 377 and 'इयणः सम्प्रसारणम्' Pa. I.1.45.

2. प्रथिप्रदिभ्रस्जां सम्प्रसारणं सलोपश्च। U.S.U., I - 29.

व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं किच्च। Ibid., I - 40.

स्यन्देः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., I - 69.

प्रथेः कित्सम्प्रसारणम्। Ibid., I - 134.

प्रथेः शिवन् सम्प्रसारणम्। Ibid., I - 148.

स्यमेः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., II - 44.

क्विब्वचिप्रच्छिश्चिषुदुपुज्वां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., II - 58.

प्रीयुक्वणिभ्यां कालन्हस्वः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., III - 76.

पदेर्नित् सम्प्रसारणमल्लोपश्च। Ibid., III - 80.

क्वणेः सम्प्रसारणम्। Ibid., III - 143.

भ्रमेः सम्प्रसारणं। Ibid., IV - 120.

ध्यायोः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। Ibid., IV - 172.

श्वेः सम्प्रसारणम्। Ibid., IV - 192.

3. Dictionary, pp. 131-32.

4. अदेङ् गुणः। Pa. I.1.2.

5. Anubandhas of Pāṇini, G.V. Devasthali, p. 2.

applied, but is not allowed to form a part of the word or the expression when fully formed.¹ The anubandhas are, in fact, given the significant designation 'it' from √i 'to go' to suggest that it should be dropped in the process of word-formation. The anubandhas are many and they are intended to indicate various grammatical functions.

The use of anubandhas is also intended to achieve brevity in the enunciation of grammatical regulations. By means of these anubandhas attached to pratyayas, āgamas, etc. numerous grammatical functions are indicated. Had these not been used, lengthy expressions would have to be used to prescribe grammatical operations. The anubandhas in the uṇādi-sūtras are used in accordance with the directions laid down by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī.² They are not treated of as 'nitya'.³

It is an important fact to note that the uṇādi-sūtras show that the use of the anubandhas is not different from that in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. In fact, the anubandhas almost serve the same purpose as they do in the Pāṇinian system. There are, however, certain cases where the anubandhas in the uṇādi-sūtras do not serve the same purpose as they are expected to serve in Pāṇini's system. This is often the case as regards accentuation. It is, therefore, necessary to study in details the anubandhas occurring in the

1. प्रकृतिप्रत्ययागमादेशानाम् विकरणागमगुणवृद्ध्यादिकार्यविशेषार्थमनुबन्धनीयः परिनिष्पन्नपदकालेषु अश्रूयमाणतया नश्वरः इत्संज्ञतया कृतलोपो वर्णः (अनुबन्धः) इति शाब्दिकाः। न्यायकोशः Quoted in 'Anubandhas of Pāṇini', G.V. Devasthali, p. 2.

2. (1) उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्।

(2) हलन्त्यम्।

(3) न विभक्तौ तुस्माः।

(4) आदिर्जिटुडवः।

(5) षः प्रत्ययस्य।

(6) चुट्ट

(7) लशक्वतद्धिते।

(8) तस्य लोपः। Pa. I. 3 - 2 to I. 3 - 9.

3. पृथग्योगकरणम् अस्य विधेः अनित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थम्। Ka. I.3.7.

uṇādi-sūtras particularly as regards their functions and compare them with the anubandhas and their functions in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Pāṇini, however, does seem to be lax in case of the anubandhas in the uṇādi-sūtras. For whenever he has referred to an uṇādi-affix in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, he has dropped the anubandhas altogether and mentioned the affixes pure and simple.¹ This may perhaps be accounted for by the well-known fact that Pāṇini holds that all these words are to be construed as non-derivatives. A study of the anubandhas used by Pāṇini shows that in several cases an anubandha is placed at the end and in others at the beginning. In some cases, however, the anubandha has a vowel (very often i, u) prefixed (or at times suffixed) to it; while in others more anubandhas than one have been used simultaneously, and then they are placed both at the beginning and the end according to convenience. The anubandhas as a rule are not placed together and at the same end.²

Now, though the concept of anubandha may not be an assumption of Pāṇini, there is no doubt that Pāṇini has excelled all his predecessors in the skilful use of this device; and it may be highly interesting to study in details the various ways in which Pāṇini has utilised it. The mechanism of the anubandha is found to play a very important part throughout the sūtra-pāṭha, even a cursory glance is enough to convince us how in Pāṇini's hands it has become a very prominent and efficient means of securing economy which proverbially is a penchant of the Sanskrit grammarians.³

Pāṇini has used anubandhas in some affixes which when divested of all their anubandhas are exactly identical. In the case of such affixes the first task that Pāṇini has before him is to lay down how to distinguish them from one another; and this he has done by attaching different anubandha-letters to them. An important purpose served by the anubandhas is the indication of accent.

1. तितुत्रतथसिसुरकसेषु च। Pa. 7.2.9.

2. न हि अयम् अनुबन्धः शल्यकवच्छेदः उपचेतुम् — नानुबन्धसंकरोऽस्ति। Quoted in the 'Anubandhas of Pāṇini', G.V. Devasthali, p. 8.

3. अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः। Paribhāṣenduśekhara, Paribhāṣā, 133.

No less than seven anubandha-letters have been used by Pāṇini for this purpose, while composing special aphorisms to describe the particular accent indicated by a particular letter.¹

Characteristics of the anubandhas

(1) By the use of the anubandhas Pāṇini has compressed the vast subject of accentuation in the shortest space possible.

(2) Another important use of the anubandhas made by Pāṇini is to indicate the occurrence of vṛddhi in the base to which the affix is added. Thus 'ṛ' and 'ṛ' used as anubandhas indicate that before such a 'kṛt' affix, the final vowel or the penultimate 'a' of the base (aṅga) will undergo vṛddhi.²

(3) The letter 'k' and 'ṛ' in some cases indicate prevention of guṇa or vṛddhi in the base to which such affixes are added.³ This naturally holds good in the case of affixes and formations other than the 'taddhita'.

(4) The letter 'ś' in the case of the 'kṛt' affixes, has been used by Pāṇini to indicate that such an affix is to be regarded as sārvaadhātuka; and if an affix is sārvaadhātuka (or ārdhadhātuka) it involves certain grammatical modifications in the base to which it is appended.

(5) At times the anubandhas are also attached to the āgamas and vikaraṇas. Thus, for example, it has been laid down by Pāṇini that an āgama with 'ṭ' as an anubandha is to be placed at the beginning of that for which it is enjoined. Another anubandha is 'k', the presence of which indicates that the āgama is to be suffixed

1. (1) अनुदात्तौ सुषितौ। Pa. 3.1.4.

(2) आद्युदात्तश्च। Pa. 3.1.3.

(3) तित्स्वरितम्। Pa. 6.1.185.

(4) जित्वादिर्नित्यम्। Pa. 6.1.197.

(5) चितः। Pa. 6.1.163.

(6) कितः। Pa. 6.1.165.

(7) उपोत्तमं रिति। Pa. 6.1.217.

(8) लिति। Pa. 6.1.193.

2. अचो ङिति। Pa. 7.2.115.

3. किङिति च। Pa. 1.1.5.

to that for which it is enjoined.¹

(6) The anubandha 'm' indicates that the augment is inserted after the last vowel of the base which is enjoined with the genitive case.² The only exception is the root 'masj'.³

(7) Some anubandhas are used to facilitate pronunciation.

(8) The anubandhas, 'k', 'g' and 'n' debar gunation. But 'k' and 'n' have also the special function of enjoining or debarring samprasāraṇa.

In the following pages, all the above-mentioned characteristics of the anubandhas in the Pañcapādī Uṇādi-sūtras have been displayed.

Abbreviations

Accent	=	A
Ambiguous	=	?
Augment of 'num'	=	AN
Augment of 'tuk'	=	AT
Augment of 'yuk'	=	AU
Ease of Pronunciation	=	EP
Elision of 'ā'	=	EĀ
Elision of nasals	=	EN
Elision of 'ṭi'	=	ET
Elision of upadhā	=	EU
Lengthening of the penultimate	=	LP
Prevention of guṇa	=	PG
Samprasāraṇa	=	SP
Sārvadhātuka	=	S
For the substitute of 'ī'	=	SI
Vṛddhi	=	V

(Unless otherwise mentioned the references are to the Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta.)

Angac	-	cit	I - 118	A. ⁴
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1. आद्यन्तौ टकितौ। Pa. 1.1.46.
2. मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः। Pa. 1.1.47.
3. मस्जेरन्त्यात्पूर्वं नुममिच्छन्ति अनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थम्। Ka. I. 1.47.
4. चितः। Pa. 6.1.163.

	-	kit	I - 120	PG ¹
adi	-	idit	I - 129	EP
	-	ḍit	I - 131	ET ²
ati	-	idit	I - 133	EP
aji	-	idit	I - 135	EP
ani	-	idit	II - 103	EP
	-	kit	II - 108	PG
anuñ	-	ñit	III - 52	PG
anyuc	-	cit	III - 81	A
aknuc	-	cit	III - 81	A
anya	-	nit	III - 108	A ³
atran	-	nit	III - 105	A
	-	cit	III - 107	A
aṭac	-	cit	IV - 110 (sk.)	A
asānac	-	cit	II - 86	A
	-	kit	II - 87	PG
atac	-	cit	III - 110	A
	-	kit	III - 111	PG
atha	-	cit	III - 115	A
	-	nit	III - 116	PG
asac	-	cit	III - 117	A
	-	ñit	III - 119	V ⁴
	-	kit	III - 121	PG
abhac	-	cit	III - 122	A
	-	kit	III - 123	PG
	-	nit	III - 124	A
ara	-	cit	III - 132	A ⁵
alic	-	cit	IV - 2	A
ati	-	cit	IV - 60	A
	-	nit	IV - 63	A

1. क्ङिति च। Pa. 1.1. 5.
2. डित्वसामर्थ्यादभस्यापि टेल्लोपः।
3. जित्यादिर्नित्यम्। Pa. 6.1.197.
4. अचो ङिति। Pa. 7.2.115.
5. चित्त्वादन्तोदात्तः। SV.

atrin	-	nit	IV - 69	A
ani	-	kit	IV - 80	? ¹
aṭan	-	nit	IV - 81	A
ambac	-	cit	IV - 82 - IV - 96	A
	-	ṇit	IV - 83	V
alac	-	cit	IV - 90	A
aran	-	nit	IV - 154	A
asun	-	(i) nit	IV - 188	(i) A (ii) EP
	-	(ii) udit		
	-	(i) ghit	IV - 198	(i) Kutvam ² (ii) PG
	-	(ii) kit		
	-	kit	IV - 193	PG
	-	kit	IV - 216	PG cf. 4-222 U.S.S.
	-	ṇit	IV - 217	V
al	-	lit	V - 19	A } ³
ac	-	cit	V - 19	A }
	-	both are ḍit also		ET
ac	-	cit	V - 31	A
ara	-	cit	V - 39	A Cf. V - 41 U.S.S.
aran	-	nit	V - 59	A
amac	-	cit	V - 68	Ac ⁴
alac	-	cit	V - 70	A
ālac	-	cit	I - 115	A
ālīyac	-	cit	I - 115	A
ānac	-	cit	II - 89	A
	-	kit	II - 90	PG
āgūc	-	cit	III - 81	A
āran	-	nit	III - 134	A

1. कित्त्वप्रयोजनं चिन्त्यम्। Ujj. See also कुरादित्वात् डित्वेनैव गुणाभावे सिद्धे तस्यानित्यत्वज्ञापनार्थम् पुनः कित्त्वविधानम्। U.S.S., IV-84.
2. चजोः कुः घिण्यतोः। Pa. 7.3.52.
3. अलचोः स्वरे विशेषः। अचि अन्तोदात्तत्वम्। अलिप्रत्ययात्पूर्वस्योदात्तत्वम्। U.S.S., V. 17.
4. चितः नित्यश्चायमन्तोदात्तः। Ibid., V. 68.

	-	cit	III - 137	A
	-	kit	III - 138	PG
ānuk	-	kit	IV - 2	PG
āsi	-	idit	IV - 221	EP
	-	ḍit	IV - 227	ET
	-	śit	IV - 232	S ¹
	-	kit	IV - 239	PG
ilac	-	cit	I - 57	A
	-	kit	I - 58	PG ²
iti	-	idit	I - 99	EP
ikan	-	nit	II - 44	A
inac	-	cit	II - 46	A
	-	kit	II - 47	PG
inan	-	nit	II - 50	A
	-	kit	II - 51	PG
inaṇ	-	ṇit	II - 50	V
iji	-	idit	II - 70	EP
	-	kit	II - 70	SP ³
isi	-	idit	II - 109	EP
isin	-	(i) nit	II - 111	(i) A (ii) EP
	-	(ii) idit		
	-	kit	II - 113	PG
iṣṇuc	-	cit	III - 16	A
itnuc	-	cit	III - 30	A
itan	-	nit	III - 93	A
	-	kit	III - 95	PG
ini	-	ṇit	IV - 7	V
	-	kit	IV - 10	PG
iṣṇuc	-	cit	IV - 2	A
iṣṭhac	-	cit	IV - 2	A
isan	-	nit	IV - 2	A
ithin	-	nit	IV - 2	A
in	-	nit	IV - 117	A

1. शित्वात्सार्वधातुके ख्यात्रभावः। U.S.S., II. 237
2. पुगन्तलघूपधस्येत्यस्य निषेधार्थम्। Ibid., I - 58.
3. ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां डिति च। Pa. 6.1.16.

	-	kit	IV - 119	PG
iñ	-	ñit	IV - 124	V & A
iṇ	-	ṇit	IV - 129	A
	-	ḍit	IV - 133	ET
i	-	kit	IV - 144	PG
imanic	-	(i) idit	IV - 147	(i) EP (ii) A
	-	(ii) cit		
imanin	-	(i) idit	IV - 148	(i) EP (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
itra	-	cit	IV - 176	A
itvan	-	nit	IV - 104	A
itac	-	cit	V - 34	A
ī	-	kit	III - 158	EĀ ¹
īkan	-	nit	IV - 16	A
	-	kit	IV - 17	PG
īṣan	-	nit	IV - 26	A
	-	kit	IV - 27	PG
ī	-	nit	IV - 30	A
	-	kit	IV - 31	SP & PG
	-	kit	IV - 34	EU ²
īci	-	cit	IV - 71	A
	-	ḍit	IV - 72	ET
īran	-	nit	V - 18	A
īrac	-	cit	V - 18	A
uṇ	-	ṇit	I - 1	V & AU ³
un	-	ñit	I - 10	A
u	-	kit	I - 14	PG
u	-	kit	I - 21	EĀ ⁴
urac	-	cit	I - 39	A
	-	kit	I - 40	PG
uran	-	nit	I - 43	A

1. आतो लोप इटि च। Pa. 6.4.64.

2. गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि। Pa. 6.4.98.

3. अचो ङ्गिति। Pa. 7.2.115.

आतो युक् चिण्कृतोः। Pa. 7.3.33.

4. आतो लोप इटि च। Pa. 6.4.64.

ulac	-	cit	I - 98	A
ukan	-	nit	II - 29	A
urin	-	nit	II - 73	A
usi	-	idit	II - 116	EP
	-	nit	II - 118	A
	-	ṇit	II - 119	V
	-	śit	II - 120	S
	-	kit	II - 121	PG
unan	-	nit	III - 53	A
	-	kit	III - 55	PG
	-	cit	III - 59	A
uṣac	-	cit	IV - 79 (Sv.)	A
	-	nit	IV - 75	A
uḍac	-	cit	IV - 155	A
unasi	-	idit	IV - 234	A
unasi	-	idit	IV - 234	EP
ulan (ulac sv.)	-	nit	V - 9	?
ūran	-	nit	I - 68	of no use as 'mayūra' is accented on the middle. ¹
ū	-	ṇit	I - 87	V
ūthan	-	nit	II - 6	A
ūkañ	-	ñit	IV - 39, 42	V
ūṣan	-	nit	IV - 73	A
ūlac	-	cit	IV - 90	A
ūran	-	nit	V - 3	A
	-	kit	V - 4	EĀ
	-	nit	V - 6	A
ṛn	-	nit	II - 97	A
ṛ	-	ḍit	II - 101	ET
ṛtin	-	nit	IV - 58	A
erak	-	kit	I - 59	PG
elimac	-	cit	IV - 37	A
	-	kit	IV - 39	PG

1. लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वो गुरुः। Phit-sūtra 43.

otac	-	cit	I - 64	of no use ¹
oran	-	nit	I - 65	A
olac	-	cit	I - 67	A
kala	-	kit	I - 106	PG
	-	cit	I - 108	A
	-	nit	I - 111	A
	-	nit	I - 111	A
katu	-	kit	I - 78	PG
kālan	-	(i) kit	I - 117	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kanin	-	(i) kit		
	-	(ii) nit	I - 156	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(iii) idit		(iii) EP
ka	-	kit	II - 61	PG
kak	-	kit	III - 41	PG
kan	-	nit	III - 43	A
	-	ḍit	III - 45	ET
kanyūc	-	(i) kit	III - 51	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) cit		
katran	-	(i) kit	III - 108	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kapān	-	(i) kit	III - 142	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kapa	-	kit	III - 146	PG
katnic	-	(i) kit	IV - 2	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) cit		
karan	-	(i) kit	IV - 3	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kayan	-	(i) kit	IV - 99	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kamin	-	(i) kit	IV - 156	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kana	-	kit	IV - 176	PG
kanasi	-	(i) kit	IV - 238	(i) SP (ii) EP
	-	(ii) idit		
kanyan	-	(i) kit	V - 44	(i). PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		

kan	-	(i) kit	V - 56	(i) of no use ¹
	-	(ii) nit		(ii) A
k	-	kit	V - 62	PG
	-	kit	V - 53	EĀ
kālan	-	(i) kit	III - 76	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kāku	-	kit	III - 78	PG
kirac	-	(i) kit	I - 52	(i) EN (ii) A ²
	-	(ii) cit		
	-	nit	I - 53	A
kikan	-	(i) kit	II - 40	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kīkan	-	(i) kit	IV - 24	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kindac	-	(i) kit	IV - 85	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) cit		
kiṣyan	-	(i) kit	IV - 178	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		(4. 184 Sv.)
kītan	-	(i) kit	IV - 184	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		(4. 190 Sv.)
kītac	-	(i) kit	IV - 185	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) cit		
kīkan	-	(i) kit	V - 51	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
ku	-	kit	I - 23	PG
	-	kit	I - 24	SP ³
	-	ḍit	I - 34	ET
kū	-	kit	I - 93	PG
keyya	-	kit	III - 99	PG
kuṣan	-	(i) kit	IV - 74	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		
kvan	-	(i) kit	I - 151	(i) PG (ii) A
	-	(ii) nit		

1. T.B.U., I - 62.

1. ककारानुबन्धस्य फलं न दृश्यते। U.S.S., V - 56.

2. अनिदितां हलः उपधायाः किङ्त्वनङि। Pa. 6.4.24.

3. Pa. 6.1.16.

kthan	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	II - 2	(i) PG and EN ¹ (ii) A
kran	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	II - 24	(i) PG (ii) A (cf. II-27 Sv.)
krukan	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	II - 31	(i) PG (ii) A
kvun	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	II - 32	(i) PG (ii) A
kvip	-	(i) kit (ii) idit (iii) pit	II - 57	(i) PG (ii) EP (iii) AT ²
kyun	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	II - 79	(i) EN (ii) A
kmalan	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	IV - 186	(i) PG (ii) A
kmalac	-	(i) kit (ii) cit	IV - 192	(i) PG (ii) A
kyu	-	kit	II - 81	PG
ksna	-	kit	III - 17	PG
ktnu	-	kit	III - 30	PG
ksaran	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	III - 75	(i) PG and EN (ii) A
кта	-	kit	III - 89	PG
kthin	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	III - 156	(i) EN (ii) A
ksi	-	kit nit	III - 155	PG A
ksu	-	kit	III - 156	PG
kvin	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	IV - 54	(i) PG (ii) A (Cf. IV.56 Sv.)
kri	-	(i) kit	IV - 64	PG ³
krin	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	IV - 65	(i) PG (ii) A

krun	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	IV - 103	(i) PG (ii) A
krin	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	IV - 104	(i) PG (ii) A
kla	-	kit	IV - 108	PG
kvanip	-	(i) kit (ii) idit (iii) pit	IV - 133	(i) PG (ii) EP (iii) AT ¹
ktra	-	kit	IV - 163	PG
kasman	-	(i) kit (ii) nit		(i) PG (ii) A (Cf. IV-182 Sv.)
knan	-	(i) kit (ii) nit	V - 7	(i) EN and PG (ii) A
кта	-	kit	V - 14	EN
kyuc	-	(i) kit (ii) cit	V - 17	(i) PG (ii) A
gaṇ	-	ṇit	I - 126	V
gak	-	kit	I - 129	PG
ghathin	-	(i) ghit (ii) nit	IV - 86 Sv.	(i) kutva ² (ii) A
	-	cit	IV - 88	A
	-	ṇit	IV - 89	V
caṭ	-	ṭit	IV - 91	For ṇīp
catu	-	cit	I - 79	A
canuṇ	-	(i) cit (ii) ṇit	III - 51 Sv.	(i) A (ii) PG
cik	-	(i) cit (ii) kit	II - 62	(i) A (ii) PG
jhic	-	cit	II - 50	A
jhac	-	cit	III - 126	A
ñuṇ	-	(i) ṇit (ii) ṇit	I - 2	A & V
tan	-	nit	V - 30	A
ṭīṣac	-	(i) ṭit (ii) cit	I - 46	(i) For ṇīp (ii) A
	-	ṇit	I - 49	V

1. अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनाम् अनुनासिकलोपो झलि किङिति। Pa. 6.4.37.

2. ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्। Pa. 6.1.71.

3. कित्वात् इत्वं रपरत्वं च। U.S.U., IV. 64.

1. ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्। Pa. 6.1.71.

2. चजोः कु घिण्यतोः। Pa. 7.3.52.

ḍati	-	ḍit	IV - 51	ET
ḍau	-	ḍit	V - 52	ET
ḍavatup	-	(i) ḍit (ii) udit (iii) pit	I - 64	(i) ET (ii) AN and LP (iii) A ¹
ḍraṭ	-	(i) ḍit (ii) ṭit	IV - 165	(i) ET (ii) for nīp
ḍri	-	ḍit	V - 66	ET
ḍun	-	(i) ḍit (ii) nit	V - 28	(i) ET (ii) A
ḍutac	-	(i) ḍit (ii) cit	V - 1	(i) ET (ii) A
ḍumsun	-	(i) ḍit (ii) udit (iii) nit	IV - 177	(i) ET (ii) AN (iii) A
ḍu	-	ḍit	II - 68	ET
ḍosi	-	(i) ḍit (ii) idit	II - 69	(i) ET (ii) EP
ḍai	-	ḍit	II - 67	ET
ḍaisi	-	(i) ḍit (ii) idit	V - 12	(i) ET (ii) EP
ḍau	-	ḍit	II - 64	ET
ṇitran	-	(i) ṇit (ii) nit	IV-170	(i) V (ii) A
ṇukan	-	(i) ṇit (ii) nit	II - 30	(i) V (ii) A
takan	-	nit	III - 148	A
tanān	-	nit	III - 150	A
taśan	-	nit	III - 149	A
taśasun	-	(i) udit (ii) nit	III - 149	(i) EP (ii) A
tan	-	nit	III - 86	A
ti	-	nit	IV - 182	A
tun	-	nit	V - 43	A

tu	-	kit	I - 71	SI ¹
tun	-	(i) nit (ii) nit	I - 70, I - 76, 1 - 77	(i) V (ii) A
ṭṛn	-	nit	II - 94	A
ṭṛc	-	cit	II - 94	A
tikan	-	nit	III - 146	A
tyuk	-	kit	III - 21	PG
trip	-	pit	IV - 67	A (Cf. Sv.4.70.)
trin	-	nit	IV - 68	A
thak	-	kit	II - 7	SI, PG, and SP
than	-	nit	II - 4	A
dan	-	nit	IV - 97	A
dhuk	-	kit	IV - 38	PG ²
ni	-	kit	IV - 49	PG
	-	nit	IV - 51	A
				(Cf. Sv. IV-53)
pa	-	kit	III - 23	PG
	-	nit	III - 26	A
phak	-	kit	V - 26	PG
bhan	-	nit	III - 152	A
mak	-	kit	I - 144	PG
man	-	nit	I - 139	A
madik	-	(i) kit (ii) idit	I - 138	(i) PG (ii) EP
maniṇ	-	(i) ṇit (ii) idit (iii) nit	IV - 152	(i) V (ii) EP (iii) A
manin	-	(i) nit (ii) idit	IV-144 and 152	(i) A (ii) EP
mani	-	idit	IV - 151	EP
mi	-	kit	IV - 45	PG
yak	-	kit	IV - 110	PG

1. उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः। Pa. 7.1.70.

1. घुमास्थागापाजहत्तिसां हलि। Pa. 6.4.66.

2. For all implications that k as anubandha has.

yat	-	tit	V - 15	A ¹ (Cf. V. 13 Sv.)
yuk	-	kit	III - 21	PG
yuk	-	cit	III - 20	A
yun	-	nit	V - 42	A
ran	-	nit	II - 27	A
tak	-	kit	IV - 40 Sv.	PG
van	-	nit	I - 152	A
vanip	-	(i) idit (ii) pit	IV - 112	(i) EP (ii) A ²
vālañ	-	ñit	I - 115	V
vin	-	nit	IV - 53	A
vun	-	nit	V - 35	A (Cf. V-38 Sv.)
vālan	-	nit	IV - 40	A
valañ	-	ñit	IV - 40 Sv.	V and A
śatṛvat	-	(i) śit (ii) ugit	(ii) II - 84	(i) S (ii) For ñīp & AN ³
śun	-	nit	V - 27	A
śvañ	-	ñit	V - 27	V
ṣivan	-	(i) śit (ii) nit	I - 150	(i) For ñīṣ (ii) A
ṣvarac	-	(i) śit (ii) cit	II - 123	(i) ñīṣ (ii) A
ṣṭran	-	(i) śit (ii) nit	IV - 158	(i) ñīṣ (ii) A
sa	-	kit	III - 66	SP
san	-	nit	V - 21	A (Cf. V.20 Sv.)
saran	-	nit	III - 70	A
		cit	III - 73	A
		kit	III - 73	PG
sikan	-	nit	IV - 153	A
syān	-	nit	IV - 2	A

1. यतोऽनावः। Pa. 6.1.213.
2. अनुदातौ सुषितौ। Pa. 3.1.4.
3. उगितश्च। Pa. 4.1.6.

The anubandhas occurring in ādeśas and āgamas also prescribe the same grammatical functions as laid down by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. A majority of the anubandhas are for ease of pronunciation. The sūtra 'midaco'ntyāt paraḥ' finds its scope only in three uṇādi-sūtras.¹ The sūtra 'ādyantau ṭakitau' is the only sūtra which functions in the case of ādeśas and āgamas. Thus the perusal of the characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras shows that they are part and parcel of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as they are used almost in the same sense as they are used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

1. U.S.U., I-16, I-94, IV-77.

AUTHORSHIP AND CHRONOLOGY

It is a frequent phenomenon of Sanskrit literature that scholars have wrestled with their brains to arrive at satisfactory decisions regarding the authorship and chronology of literary works in Sanskrit. It reflects indifference to the sense of historicity on the part of ancient Indian seers and authors. The problem of the authorship of the Sanskrit *uṇādi-sūtras* furnishes an interesting example which adds to the number of the undecided hypotheses. Notwithstanding the fact that both foreign and Indian scholars have discussed this problem, nothing conclusive can be said in this regard.

Problem : The genesis of the problem of the authorship of the *uṇādi-sūtras* of the Pāṇinian school of grammar lies in the twin reference to them in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.¹ The query could be put forth like this : If Pāṇini wrote the *uṇādi-sūtras*, why did he separate them from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ? The very separate existence of the *uṇādi-sūtras* gave rise to many assumptions about the authorship of these *sūtras*. Goldstücker's remarks about Pāṇini's reference to the *uṇādi-sūtras* sound somewhat queer. To quote him in this respect "It is true that grammarian (Pāṇini) speaks twice of *uṇādis*, but he never speaks of *uṇādi-sūtras*. The former term merely implies a list of *uṇādi-affixes*, and may imply according to analogous expression in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes; but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the *uṇādi-sūtras* which we are speaking

of."¹ Later on in his book 'Pāṇini' Goldstücker ascribes these *sūtras* to an author later than Pāṇini. That the *uṇādi-words* are forced derivations has led many scholars to ascribe these *sūtras* to grammarian Śākaṭāyana who held the extreme view that all nouns are derived from verbal roots. Others, on the basis of the presence of the *pratyāhāra* 'nām' in the *uṇādi-sūtras*, conclude that they were written by Āpiśali. Before we come to any conclusion, we must examine the different views about the authorship of the *uṇādi-sūtras* one by one.

Śākaṭāyana as author

The controversial view that Śākaṭāyana is the author of the *uṇādi-sūtras* seems to be based on 'vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokam'. Those who support this view hold that Śākaṭāyana was a strong exponent of the theory that all words are derived from verbal roots and that the *uṇādi-sūtras* endeavour to vindicate this view logically. Kaiyaṭa's remarks are evasive in conspicuously ascribing authorship to Śākaṭāyana,² but Nāgeśa adds that the words of the former suggest that the *uṇādi-sūtras* are the creation of Śākaṭāyana.³ Śvetavanavāsin does it more clearly.⁴ Viśveśvara Sūri makes a similar statement that the *uṇādi-words* when dissolved into root and affix give no meaning and that consequently they form the content of some other grammatical treatise.⁵ The *sūtra* '*uṇādayo bahulam*' is to corroborate the genuineness of those words. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī also endorses this view saying "Pāṇini was not a *vyutpattivādī*, that is, he did not hold the view that all the words in the Sanskrit language can be derived from Sanskrit roots. So he did not write the *uṇādi-sūtras* but left them out by saying '*uṇādayo bahulam*'. On the other hand Śākaṭāyana held the view that all Sanskrit words are derivable from Sanskrit roots.

1. उणादयो बहुलम्। Pa. 3.3.1.
ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः। Pa. 3.4.75.

1. Pāṇini, p. 174.

2. 'उणादय' इत्येव सूत्रमुणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपठितानां साधुत्वज्ञापनार्थमस्त्विति भावः। Kaiyaṭa, MBH., 3.3.1.

3. एवं च कृवापेति उणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम्। Nāgeśa. MBH., 3.3.1.

4. येयं शाकटायनादिभिः पञ्चपादो रचिता। U.S.S., pp. 1 - 2.

5. प्रायेणैषां रूढतया प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थाननुगमाद्विशिष्य न व्युत्पाद्यन्ते किन्तु शास्त्रान्तरव्युत्पादितानां साधुत्वमात्रम् अनेनाभ्यनुज्ञायते। Vyākaraṇa Siddhānta Sudhānidhi, p. 1399, ed. Mahadeva Shastri, Bhandari, Benares, 1924.

So I think Kāśinātha is right in attributing the uṇādi-sūtras to Śākaṭāyana.¹ Suryakānta Śāstri² also holds the same view. At last, we present the remarks of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, who painstakingly fortifies this view. He quotes the same kārīkā and comments thereon by Kaiyaṭa and establishes this thesis, to support which he produces the evidence of the third vārttika of Kātyāyana on Pa. 7.1.2 which means that the uṇādi-words, in the opinion of Pāṇini, are not derived from verbal roots. By quoting another similar remark of Patañjali, he goes to the length of refuting the theory that Pāṇini regards all the words as traceable to roots. Pāṇini, therefore, cannot be the author of the uṇādi-sūtras. He continues the discussion : Had the uṇādi-sūtras been written by Pāṇini, Patañjali on Pa. 2.4.56 (ajervyaghaṇapoh) would not have derived the word 'vāyu' from the root √aj when the very first uṇādi-sūtra explains its derivation from the root √vā. He alludes to the derivative theory of the uṇādi-sūtras which is discussed in the Mahābhāṣya and says that it gives a clue that these uṇādi-sūtras might have been the subject-matter of some other grammatical work. As he winds up the discussion, he raises some other objections like repetition, looseness, etc. and comes to a tentative conclusion that it is not Pāṇini but Śākaṭāyana who wrote these sūtras.³ Dr. Carey,⁴

1. Catalogue, Vol. 6, Preface, p. xxxiii.

2. R̥ktantra, Intro., p. 50 - footnote.

3. तानि चेमानि सूत्राणि शाकटायनमुनिप्रणीतानि न तु पाणिनिना प्रणीतानि, उणादयो बहुलमिति सूत्रे भाष्ये 'नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्' इति वार्तिकव्याख्यावसरे अभिहितम्। उणादीनां शास्त्रान्तरपठितानां साधुत्वाभ्यनुज्ञानार्थं बहुलग्रहणमिति कैयटः। न ह्येषां पाणिनीयत्वे शास्त्रान्तरशब्दो युज्यते। उणादिप्रत्ययान्ता शब्दा पाणिनिमते व्युत्पन्ना एव। अत एव 'आयनेयी -' इति सूत्रे प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेः सिद्धम् उणादयो ह्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकान्यत्युक्त्वा तर्हि सर्पिषा युजषेत्यादौ अप्रत्ययत्वात् षत्वाभावमाशङ्क्य बहुलग्रहणात् प्रत्ययसंज्ञामवलम्ब्य षत्वं साधितम् व्युत्पत्तिपक्षश्च निराकृतः। अतोऽप्युणादिसूत्राणां न पाणिनीयत्वम्। अतएव 'अजेर्व्यघजपोः' इति सूत्रभाष्ये अजधातोर्युप्रत्यये प्रकृतेर्वीभावे वायु शब्दो व्युत्पादितः। उणादिसूत्राणां पाणिनीयत्वे हि कृवापाजीत्युणादिसूत्रेणोप्रत्ययमाश्रित्यैव शास्त्रान्तरमूलकमेवेति शब्देन्दुशेखरे प्रपञ्चितम्। तथा क्विब्वचीत्युणादिसूत्राणां तथाविधवार्तिकानां च न पौनरुक्त्याशङ्का। B.M.U., I - 1.

4. SK, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 145-46.

Macdonell,¹ Maxmüller² and Theodor Aufrecht³ also ascribe these sūtras to Śākaṭāyana.

Criticism : All these views mentioned above are based on the kārīkā 'vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokam' which actually alludes to different points of view which were prevailing in the linguistic sphere at the time of Yāska, who also could not help discussing it at length in his Nirukta. It is true that a good number of schools of Sanskrit grammar had been current before Pāṇini. The grammarians to whom Pāṇini alludes in his Aṣṭādhyāyī might have written these less regular rules as a genuine part of their grammars proper. One faction of the grammarians headed by Śākaṭāyana held that all the nouns are derived from verbal roots. They probably did not write the uṇādi-sūtras separately but on the other hand they might have written them as a proper part of their grammars under the section of the primary affixes without any specification. It was only Pāṇini who leaned towards the much more intelligent view of Gārgya and adopted a reconciliatory path by separating the list of the uṇādi-sūtras.

Vedavrata, the editor of the Mahābhāṣya criticises the view that Śākaṭāyana was the author of the uṇādi-sūtras. He says that the kārīkā of Patañjali never implies that these sūtras were written by Śākaṭāyana. What it actually implies is that Śākaṭāyana was the exponent of the theory that all the words are derived from verbal roots and the uṇādi-sūtras vindicate this theory logically. It also does not follow that Pāṇini was the strong supporter of the theory.⁴

Āpīśali as author : Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka⁵ endeavours to

1. Sanskrit Grammar, Intro., p. xii.

2. Pāṇini, p. 173.

3. Ibid., p. 173.

4. भ्रान्तिरियं नागेशभट्टप्रभृतीनाम्। भ्रान्तौ कारणं तु 'व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्' वैयाकरणानां च शाकटायन आह धातुजं नामेति' इत्यादि भाष्यमेव वर्तते। परन्तुवेन भाष्येण पूर्वोदाहृतनिरुक्तवाक्येन च नैरुक्तमते शाकटायनमते च नाम्नामाख्यातजत्वमेव सिद्ध्यति न तु 'कृवापा'-प्रभृति-उणादि सूत्राणां शाकटायनप्रोक्तत्वम्। तच्च यद्यपि पाणिनीयत्वम् अभविष्यत् तर्हि तत्र लाघवं नावश्यत्। MBH. ed. Vedavrata, part III, p. 311, footnote

5. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 170.

explore the possibility that Āpiśali might have written the uṇādi-sūtras. He bases his view on the uṇādi-sūtra 'ñamantāḍḍaḥ'. The pratyāhāra 'ñam' is not found in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. He refers to Āpiśali's and Pāṇini's Śikṣās for a comparative glance.¹

Criticism : It is right that the Aṣṭādhyāyī does not have any such pratyāhāra as 'ñam', but if need be, this 'ñam' pratyāhāra can be formed with the help of Pa. 1.1.71 'ādirantyena sahetā'. Jinendrabuddhi quotes one of the anīṭ-kārikās of a famous grammarian Vyāghrabhūti, which means that this pratyāhāra² 'ñam' belongs to Pāṇini belittling thereby the propriety of the comparison of Pāṇini's and Āpiśali's Śikṣās to decide the question of authorship.

Kātyāyana as author : That Kātyāyana is the author of the uṇādi-sūtras is a view more formidable than the preceding ones. Vimala Sarasvatī in his Rūpamālā ascribes these sūtras to Vararuci Kātyāyana, which seems to be a result of Durgasiṃha's śloka at the beginning of his commentary on the 'kṛt' section of the Kātantra grammar.^{3 a-b} It presupposes the identity of Vararuci and Kātyāyana.⁴ Goldstücker suggests the same thing with regard to the uṇādi-sūtras. The list of the uṇādi-affixes was first drawn up by Pāṇini, and was afterwards modified, corrected and given the form of sūtras⁵ by Kātyāyana. The extent of change introduced by

Kātyāyana was so great that ultimately the popular tradition came to credit him with its sole authorship.

Criticism : This view also does not hold good when there are several passages in the Mahābhāṣya in which both Patañjali and Kātyāyana concern themselves with the assessment of several uṇādi-sūtras. Several vārttikas of Kātyāyana are counter-evidences to the view that Kātyāyana is the author of the uṇādi-sūtras. This will be discussed in the following pages.

Pāṇini as author : After discussing the different points of view about the authorship of the uṇādi-sūtras, we present the views of K.B. Pathak¹ and others who hold that Pāṇini is the author of these uṇādi-sūtras and who also admit that the nature of the uṇādi-sūtras is vulnerable to an attack of interpolators. This is why many discrepancies have crept into the body of the uṇādi-sūtras, as a result of which some are led to such conclusions as are mentioned above.

A comparative study of the technique of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and that of the uṇādi-sūtras will convincingly prove that the uṇādi-sūtras are part and parcel of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.² "A set of original terms of Pāṇini which he defines during the course of his Aṣṭādhyāyī were actually conceived by Pāṇini except those which he does not define as they are borrowed. The technical terms which are indispensable to the mechanism of these sūtras are the following: abhyāsa, avyaya, udātta, upadhā, upasarga, dīrgha, dhātu, pada, vṛddhi, lopa, samprasāraṇa, hrasva."³

The technical terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī are used exactly in the same sense in the uṇādi-sūtras. Moreover, Patañjali implies that the uṇādi-sūtras are written by Pāṇini when he says that uṇādi-affixes are ārdhadhātuka. On the sūtra Pa. 1.2.4⁴ he says that a sārvaadhātuka affix which is not 'pit' becomes 'nit'. Discussing the sūtra in a catechismal manner, he further tells us that the use of the term sārvaadhātuka is purposeful. If only the word 'apit' were used,

1. Itihāsa., Vol. I, p. 139.

2. यमिजमन्तेष्वनिडेक इष्यते रमिश्च यश्च श्यनि पठ्यते मनिः।

नमि चतुर्थो हनिरेव पञ्चमो गमिश्च षष्ठः प्रतिषेधवाचिनाम् ॥

KN. on the pratyāhāra-sūtra ज म ङ ण न म् and also see जमिति प्रत्याहारग्रहणम्। Pāṇini-śikṣā, p.19, ed. Manmohan Ghosh, Calcutta, 1938.

3a. उणादयो बहुलम् ॥ संज्ञाविषये स्युः ॥ ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥ सम्प्रदानापादानाभ्यामन्यस्मिन्नर्थे स्युः। लक्ष्यानुसारेणोन्नेया अनुबन्धा उणादिषु। बहुलोक्या प्रसाध्यानि तेषु कार्यान्तराणि च। उणादिस्फुटीकरणाय वररुचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि। तद्यथा कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूष्य उण्। Quoted in Pāṇini, p. 186 - footnote.

3b. वृक्षादिवदमी रूढा कृतिना न कृताः कृतः ॥

कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धप्रतिपत्तये।

4. B.K.U. Intro., p. xiv. footnote.

5. Vide Pāṇini, p. 186.

1. ABORI, Vol. IV, pp. 111-136, and Vol. XI, pp. 90, 93.

2. See supra, Ch. I.

3. Pāṇini, pp. 185-86.

4. सार्वधातुकमपित्।

the rule would hold good in the case of every 'apit' ārdhadhātuka. He explains further that this is not the only purpose. The language used by Pāṇini indicates that by this every ārdhadhātuka, which is not 'pit', does not become 'nit' since Pāṇini affixes the indicatory 'ña' only to some ārdhadhātuka affixes namely 'cañ, añ, najiñ, nvanip, athañ and nañ'. He clarifies the implication of the jñāpaka that it is applicable to a thing of the same kind and says that all the six affixes are ārdhadhātuka. Among them the uṇādi-affix 'athan' is used to indicate that this will hold good in the case of the uṇādi-affixes. Patañjali clearly says that Pāṇini affixes 'ñ' to these affixes, of which five occur in the five sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī.¹ The affix 'athan' which, Patañjali says, is auṇādika and to which Pāṇini affixes 'ñ' is actually found in the uṇādi-sūtras (III-113,² III-114,³ III-115,⁴ III-116⁵). The root $\sqrt{\text{vas}}$ undergoes samprasāraṇa when 'kta' is affixed to it having the form 'uṣita' and the same root forms the uṇādi-word 'āvasatha' with the uṇādi-affix 'athan', another 'ārdhadhātuka'. This is why Pāṇini has rendered the affixes 'kit' and 'nit' while either of the two indicatory letters will suffice to debar gunation; but it is not only gunation for which 'kit' and 'nit' affixes are enjoined by Pāṇini. Here the evident purpose is to debar guṇa as well as to debar samprasāraṇa as explained above.⁶ The arrangement of the uṇādi-sūtras, as we find in Ujjvaladatta's Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti must have been identical with those known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

There is another interesting passage on the sūtra Pa. 7.1.2 which throws a flood of light on the query of authorship. The three vārttikas⁷ of Kātyāyana are interesting to note as they evince that

1. Pa. 3-1-49, 3-1-52, 3-2-103, 3-2-172, 3-3-90.

2. शोड्शपिरुगमिवञ्चिजोविप्राणिभ्योऽथः।

3. भृञश्चिच् (अथः)।

4. रुदिविदिभ्यां (अथः) डित्।

5. उपसर्गे वसेः (अथः) डित्।

6. MBH. on Pa. 1.2.4.

7. तत्रोणादिप्रतिषेधः। MBH., 7.1.2, vārttika 3.

धातोर्वेयङ्वचनात्। Ibid., vārttika 4.

प्रतिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिनेः सिद्धम्। Ibid., vārttika 5.

the uṇādi-sūtras form an integral part of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. With a view to removing the anomaly in the sūtra Pa. 7.1.2, Kātyāyana is of the opinion that the substitutes 'āyan, ey, īn, īy, iy' for 'pha, ḍha, kha, cha, gha' respectively are not to be extended to the uṇādi-sūtras as is evident from the words 'śamkha' and 'ṣaṇḍha' in which 'kha' and 'ḍha' do not undergo any transformations. He offers an opinion so as to remove this discrepancy by referring to the indication in the sūtra 'ṛterīyañ'.¹ Had Pāṇini not intended to indicate, he would have formed the sūtra 'ṛteścañ'.² To the objection that there are certain differences in the use of 'chañ' by Pāṇini, as 'cha' being a letter of the 'val' pratyāhāra, it would entail the augment 'it' which prevails on account of its being subsequent to the rule Pa. 7.1.2, it can be said that if the substitute is not nitya, it will yield to the augment 'it'. As the substitutes in the sūtra are mentioned in the proximity of the affixes, they, therefore, should be considered proximate, because 'āyan' etc. are pronounced simultaneously with the 'sthānis' in order that they might get accentuation on the first syllable. Thus Pāṇini's sūtra 'ṛterīyañ' indicates that the uṇādi-affixes which are verbal affixes do not change into 'āyan' etc.³ The Kāśikā endorses this fact.⁴ The third vārttika again refers to the uṇādi-sūtras and implies that Pāṇini regards all the uṇādi-words as prātipadikas. The former vārttika is according to the theory that all the words are derived from verbal roots and the third vārttika is on the basis of the theory that all the words are not derived from verbal roots. It evinces that though Pāṇini composed the uṇādi-sūtras, they do not represent his personal view. The remarks of Kaiyaṭa on the vārttika endorse this point of view.⁵

1. Pa. 3.1.29.

2. MBH. on Pa. 7.1.2, vārttika 4.

3. तदेतदृतेरीयङ्वचनं ज्ञापकं न धातुप्रत्ययानामायनादयो भवन्तीति। MBH. on Pa. 7.1.2, vārttika 4.

4. उणादयो बहुलमिति बहुलवचनादादेशा न भवन्ति। ऋतेरीयङ् वा वचनं ज्ञापकं धातुप्रत्ययानामादेशाभावश्च। Ka. 7.1.2.

5. प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानादिति पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहाराः संभवन्तीत्यव्युत्पत्तिपक्षाश्रयः। Kaiyaṭa, MBH. 7.1.2. vārttika 5.

Another still more interesting vārttika of Kātyāyana is an additional unimpeachable evidence to show that he is not the author of the uṇādi-sūtras. The vārttika is an attempt to remove the defect of the sūtra Pa. 1.2.48¹ which enunciates that the word 'go' and nouns ending in feminine affixes, which are subordinate members of compounds shorten their final vowel as in 'citragu', 'niṣkauśāmbi' and 'atikhaṭva'. The uṇādi-sūtras which are to be read after the sūtra 'uṇādayo bahulam' do not conform to this sūtra Pa. 1.2.48. The compounds 'atitantriḥ', 'atistriḥ' and 'atilaṣmīḥ' are examples to this effect. Kātyāyana and Patañjali unanimously declare that this sūtra is defective. They offer their own solutions to do away with this defect. Kātyāyana says that, in place of 'go', 'goṭān'² should be read so that the pratyāhāra 'ṭān' may represent all the affixes extending from Pa. 4.1.4 to 4.1.78 and in order that the extension and influence of this sūtra may not be seen in the case of kṛt-pratyayas which Patañjali exemplifies by citing the uṇādi-words.³

They differ as regards the means by which to remove the defect. Kātyāyana proposes to add a supplementary note enumerating only feminine affixes taught in the fourth adhyāya, thus leaving out the uṇādi-affixes given in the third adhyāya, which are subsequent to the sūtra under consideration. Patañjali says that this note is unnecessary and suggests a simpler device. He utilises for this purpose the sūtra Pa. 1.3.11.⁴ The word 'strī' in 'goṣṭriyoḥ' will be rendered svarita, that is, it will be vested with the power of extension. The extension of the sphere of its function will lie in the fourth adhyāya,⁵ where the word 'strī' must go in order to exercise its authority.⁶

1. गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य।
2. गोटाङ् ग्रहणं कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम्। MBH. Pa. 1.2.48, vārttika 2.
3. गोटाङ्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्। किमिदं टाडिति ? क्व संनिविष्टानां प्रत्याहारः ? टापः प्रभृत्या ष्यङो डकारात्। किं प्रयोजनम् ? कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम्, कृत्स्त्रिया धातुस्त्रियाश्च ह्रस्वत्वं मा भूदिति। अतितन्त्रोरिति श्रीरतिलक्ष्मीरिति। MBH. Pa. 1.2.48.
4. स्वरितेनाधिकारः।
5. स्त्रियाम्। Pa. 4.1.2.
6. न वक्तव्यम्। स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते। तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवति। 'स्त्रियाम्' इत्येवं प्रकृत्य ये विहितास्तेषां ग्रहणं विज्ञास्यते स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति। MBH. Pa. 1.2.48.

The inclusion of the uṇādi-sūtras in the Aṣṭādhyāyī does not go without any advantage either, that is, Pāṇini was saved the trouble of defining the numerous terms employed in them. But he does not seem to have anticipated that his arrangement would lead to confusion between similar affixes. In the sūtra Pa. 7.2.9¹ Pāṇini says that affix 'ta' does not take the augment 'it'. But as he does not add any 'anubandha' to it, it becomes doubtful whether the affix intended is an auṇādika affix or past participle. Kātyāyana suggests several devices in order to enable us to distinguish between the past-participle 'kta' and the auṇādika 'tan' in his vārttika on Pa. 1.1.26.² The examples to this effect given by Patañjali are the uṇādi-words.³ On another vārttika 'siddhavi-paryāsaśca', Patañjali's clarity is remarkable. He tells us that the vārttika intends to demarcate between the participle 'kta' and the uṇādi-affix 'tan'.⁴ Patañjali, again, on the sūtra 'ṇvultṛcau' (Pa. 3.1.133) says that Pāṇini mentions only two words denoting blood-relations 'svaṣṭ' and 'napṭṛ' in the sūtra Pa. 6.4.11,⁵ where the lengthening of the letter 'a' is taught, with a view to excluding other blood-relations 'māṭṛ', 'pitṛ', 'bhrāṭṛ', 'duhitṛ', 'jāmāṭṛ', etc. in the uṇādi-sūtra.⁶ We must now present the śloka of Māgha from his Śiśupālavadha.⁷ The translation of the śloka runs like this : "That battlefield in which friends, lords, paternal uncles, brothers and maternal uncles were killed was looked upon by brave men as the work of Pāṇini, wherein are taught as irregular forms, such as 'suhṛd', 'svāmin', 'pitṛvya', 'bhrāṭṛ' and 'mātula', etc. which are

1. तितुत्रतथासिसुसरकसेषु च।
2. निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दप्रतिषेधः।
3. निष्ठासंज्ञायां समानशब्दानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। लोटः गर्त इति। MBH., Pa. 1.2.26, vārttika 1.
4. सिद्धश्च विपर्यासः। यद्यपि जानाति, संदेहस्तस्य भवति — अयं स तशब्दः — लोटः — गर्तः इति, अयं स तशब्द — लूनः — गीर्णः इति। MBH., Pa. 1.2.26, vārttika 4.
5. अप्त्-त्-स्व-स्व-नप्-नेष्ट-क्षत्-होत्-पोत्-प्रशास्तृणाम्।
6. नप्-नेष्ट-त्वष्ट-होत्-पोत्-भ्रात्-जामात्-मात्-पितृ-दुहितृ। U.S.U., II-96.
7. निपातितसुहृत्स्वामिपितृव्यभ्रातृमातुलम् ।
पाणिनीयमिवालोचि धीरैस्तत्समराजिरम् ॥ 19.75

taught in the three sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and one uṇādi-sūtra.¹

As has been discussed in the preceding chapter that Pāṇini heavily drew upon the etymological expositions in the Nirukta of Yāska, to write the uṇādi-sūtras exactly in accordance with the device which was hinted at by Patañjali in his famous kārikā,² it gains plausibility, to compare the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Nirukta and the uṇādi-sūtras³ in order to show that it is the author of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, who compiled the uṇādi-sūtras as an appendix to his Aṣṭādhyāyī.

All the commentators on the uṇādi-sūtras make the most of the sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in explaining the process of the derivation of the uṇādi-words, yet a majority of them ascribe these sūtras either to Śākaṭāyana or to Vararuci Kātyāyana. The latter undoubtedly has a greater claim as he is a subsequent exponent of the Pāṇinian school of grammar and he could have made the best use of the technique of the Aṣṭādhyāyī in compiling the uṇādi-sūtras. Goldstücker strives more genuinely to ascribe these sūtras to him but his vārttikas are enough to belie this fact. The author of the Prakriyā-Sarvasva says in one of his characteristic śloka that he treats of the uṇādi-sūtras as a work of Pāṇini.⁴ Vedavrata says that the statement made by Kaiyaṭa later in the Mahābhāṣya contradicts his own suggestion that the uṇādi-sūtras are the work of Śākaṭāyana.⁵ Though Ujjvaladatta in his Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti does

not pass any remark on this view yet the list of the seventeen sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī at the beginning of his commentary implies that in his opinion Pāṇini was the compiler of the uṇādi-sūtras.¹ Perusūri in his Auṇādika Padārṇava follows suit.²

Objections are also likely to crop up. When 'vartamāne', 'saṁjñāyām' and 'bahulam' are understood to extend their authority throughout the uṇādi-sūtras, why have these terms repeatedly occurred in the uṇādi-sūtras? For instance, 'vartamāne' comes in the uṇādi-sūtra II.84,³ 'saṁjñāyām', in II.8⁴ and 'bahulam' in II.37-49⁵ etc.

Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta⁶ offer remarks which suggest that Pāṇini had a purpose behind this repetition. The Nyāsakāra says that the recurrence of the term 'vartamāne' is to remove the doubt of the sense of past tense in the words like prṣat etc., which exclusively bear the sense of the present tense. The repetition of the term 'saṁjñā' is to remove the anomaly which might creep in on account of the less regular characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras and the term 'bahulam' is repeated to do an act of kindness for those students whose memory remains eclipsed by forgetfulness.⁷

In the light of the evidences mentioned and discussed above, the ascription of the extant uṇādi-sūtras to Pāṇini seems plausible. Though they bear the signs of revision and addition by

1. सृहदुर्हदौ मित्रामित्रयोः। Pa. 5.4.150.
स्वामिनैश्वर्ये। Pa. 5.2.126.
पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः। Pa. 4.2.36. U.S.U., II-96 (q.v.).
2. कार्याद्विद्यादन्बन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु।
3. रयिरिति धननाम रातेर्दानकर्मणः। Nir., IV-17.
रातेर्हैः। U.S.U., II - 66.
तस्करतत्करो भवति यत्पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः। Nir., III - 14.
तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च। Pa. 6.1.157.
4. अकारं मुकुरस्यादौ उकारं दर्दुरस्य च।
बभाण पाणिनिस्तौ व्ययत्येनाह भोजराट्। U.S.N., p. 10.
5. ययुशब्दव्याख्याने-यो द्वे चेत्यत्र 'द्वे चे'ति न वक्तव्यं भवति इति भावः' इति कैयटवचनम् उणादीनां पाणिनीयत्वम् साध्नोति। MBH, part III, ed. Vedavrata, p. 311, footnote.

1. U.S.U., p. 2.
2. संज्ञायां वर्तमाने च कालेऽर्थे स्युरुणादयः।
क्वचिद् भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते गम्यादिस्तु भविष्यति।
दाशगोध्नौ सम्प्रदाने कारके विनिपातितौ।
भोमादयोऽपादाने तदन्यार्था उणादयः।
असंज्ञायामपि भवन्त्येते बाहुलकात्क्वचित्॥
A.P., I-15-16-17. See also Ka. 3.4.74; 6.1.66; 6.2.1; 6.4.29; 7.2.8 etc.
3. वर्तमाने पृषद्बृहन्महज्जगच्छत्वच्च। U.S.U.
4. धृषे धिष च संज्ञायाम्। Ibid.
5. बहुलमन्यत्रापि। Ibid.
6. On Pa. 3.3.1.
7. अस्यैव बहुलस्य स्मरणार्थं पुनर्बहुलग्रहणम्। एवं हि विस्मरणशीलानामनुग्रहः कृतो भवति। KN. on 3-3-1.

the Post-Pāṇinian authors and commentators, the signs of organisation by Pāṇini are not to be overlooked.¹

Chronology

The date of Pāṇini has also been another heated controversy among the oriental and occidental scholars for a long time.² Gairola (Vācaspati) has summed the views of famous scholars in the following manner :

Satyavrata Sāmaśramī	—	2400 B.C.
Rajwade and Vaidya	—	900-800 B.C.
S.K. Belvalkar	—	700-600 B.C.
Bhandarkar	—	700 B.C.
Baladeva Upādhyāya	—	500 B.C.
Macdonell	—	500 B.C.
Maxmüller	—	350 B.C.
Keith	—	300 B.C.

V.S. Aggrawala logically and lucidly assigns the middle of the fifth century (B.C.) to Pāṇini. It seems to be more convincing. That Pāṇini was the best student of Varṣa, the elder brother of Upvarṣa who wrote a commentary on Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā which was written 500 years before Christ, can be corroborated by the view of V.S. Aggrawala.³ But about the chronology of the uṇādi-sūtras Aufrecht and Maxmüller say that they were written a considerable time before Pāṇini.⁴ On the contrary Goldstücker holds that the extant uṇādi-sūtras were written by a grammarian who lived a considerable time after Pāṇini.⁵ He justifies his stand by saying that the uṇādi-words 'aśman' and 'bhuvana' were as well Vedic as common words which belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life. These scanty allusions cannot decide the chronology of the uṇādi-sūtras. It is right that the nature of the uṇādi-sūtras must have invited a host of interpolators to meddle with them, but as it has been proved that the uṇādi-sūtras bear the marks of organisation by Pāṇini, it seems right to date the uṇādi-sūtras 500 B.C.

1. Systems, p. 26.

2. Sanskrit Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa, p. 633.

3. India as known to Pāṇini, pp. 456-75.

4. Vide, Pāṇini, p. 173.

5. Ibid., p. 177.

3

PĀṆINIAN UṆĀDI-SŪTRAS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

It can now be said fairly satisfactorily that it is Pāṇini who appended the Pañcapādī to his Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Daśapādī is more or less a rearrangement of the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras probably by Māṇikyadeva himself. That is why both the Pañcapādī and the Daśapādī have been named here as 'Pāṇinian Uṇādi-sūtras'.

The Pañcapādī : Nature and Contents

There is no logical arrangement of the sūtras and it is indeed very difficult to find out the derivation of a particular word in the absence of an index of words arranged alphabetically. The Pañcapādī contains five chapters. As regards the number and readings of the uṇādi-sūtras in the Pañcapādī recension, there exist several anomalies. Each and every commentary written on the Pañcapādī has a different number of sūtras. According to Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, the extant Pañcapādī seems to be based on some old Tripādī. He conjectures¹ that two styles might have been in vogue. The first is that the foregoing chapter has at the end an affix different from that which appears in the beginning of the following chapter, that is, the affixes 'kanin' and 'kanasi' are enjoined in the concluding sūtras of the first and fourth chapters respectively and 'eṇu' and 'ḍutac' are enunciated in the opening sūtras of the second and fifth chapters respectively.² The second

1. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 170.

2. श्वन्नुक्षन्-पूषन्-प्लीहन्-क्लेदन्-स्नेहन्-मूर्धन्-मज्जन्-अर्यमन्-विश्वप्सन्-परिज्वन्-मातरिश्वन्-मघवन्निति। U.S.U., I - 158 (end).

कृहभ्यामेणुः। Ibid., II - 1.

वशोः कनसि। Ibid., IV - 238.

अदिभुवोर्दुतच्। Ibid., V - 1.

style is that the concluding affix of a chapter extends itself to the beginning sūtras of the following chapters, that is, the ending affixes 'śvarac' and 'i' of the second and third chapters respectively bear relation to the opening sūtras of the third and fourth chapters respectively.¹

If the present Pañcapādī is studied in the light of the style that was adopted by Yāska in his Nirukta in which the first part of the first chapter has a direct link with the opening sentence of the second part of the first chapter,² we can come to a tentative conclusion that there might have been a much more olden recension of the uṇādi-sūtras. The first chapter of the conjectured Tripādī might have comprised the first and second chapters of the extant Pañcapādī. The third chapter of the latter might have been the second chapter of the former. Again the fourth and fifth chapters of the Pañcapādī might have been lumped into the third chapter of the anonymous Tripādī.³ However, a close screening of the contents of the Pañcapādī as available in the commentaries helps us arrive at a tentative conclusion that there had been some three recensions of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras : (i) The Eastern recension (ii) The Northern recension (iii) The Southern recension.⁴

The Pañcapādī on which Ujjvaladatta, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī wrote commentaries, is based on the eastern recension which has been adopted so widely. Vāmana, the author of the famous Kāśikā quotes on Pa. 7.2.9 the uṇādi-sūtra 'sarvadhātubhyaḥ ṣṭraṇ'. The Kāśikā is written on the eastern recension of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. As a consequence it was natural for Vāmana to quote the uṇādi-sūtra of the eastern recension.⁵

1. कृश्वृचतिभ्यः ष्वच्। U.S.U., II - 123 (end).

छित्त्वरच्छत्वरधीवरपीवरमीवरचीवरतीवरनीवरगह्वरकद्वरसंयद्वाः। Ibid., III - 1.

लक्ष्मेर्मुट् च (ईः)। Ibid., III - 160 (end)

वातप्रमीः। Ibid., IV - 1.

2. इन्द्रियनित्यं वचनमौदुम्बरायणः। Nir., I - i.

तत्र चतुष्ट्वं नोपपद्यते। Nir., I - ii.

3. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 178.

4. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 178-79.

5. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 179.

No commentary is available on the northern recension of the Pañcapādī. Consequently it is difficult to comprehend the nature and readings of its sūtras. Kṣīrasvāmin, a Kashmere commentator on the Amarakośa and the author of the Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī has quoted some uṇādi-sūtras. Though they seem to belong to the Daśapādī, yet they aid us in speculating about the nature of the northern recension of the Pañcapādī.¹

Śvetavanavāsin and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote commentaries on the Pañcapādī written after the southern style, as they belonged to the south. A fairly good idea about all these three recensions may be had by their comparative study.²

The Daśapādī

If we compare both the Pañcapādī and the Daśapādī, we find that the Daśapādī version is not an independent one but is more or less a rearrangement of the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras of the northern recension. The sūtras in the Daśapādī have been, so far as possible, arranged alphabetically according to the final and penultimate letters of the uṇādi-words. The compiler of the Daśapādī seems to be influenced by Candracārya who wrote the uṇādi-sūtras in three chapters in which the sūtras were written in an alphabetical order according to the last and penultimate letters of the affixes. The peculiarities and characteristics of the Daśapādī are as follows :

The choice of the arrangement of the sūtras is likely to bring in the defect of anuvṛtti. The compiler inserts the wanting portions and makes up the deficiency. Some sūtras of the Daśapādī are not found in the Pañcapādī, but Patañjali quotes them in the Mahābhāṣya, e.g., the uṇādi-sūtra 'jiveradānuk'³ quoted by Patañjali on the 'pratyāhāra' 'ha, ya, va, ra, ṭ'. The Kāśikā also quotes the same sūtra. A comparison of the sūtras of the Pañcapādī

1. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p. 179.

2. सर्वधातुभ्य इन् (प्राच्यः)। U.S.U., IV-117.

इन् सर्वधातुभ्यः (दाक्षिणात्यः)। U.S.N., IV-128.

इन् (औदीच्यः)। D.P., I-46.

3. Ibid., I-163.

with those of the Daśapādī again evinces that the Daśapādī is a recast of the Pañcapādī.¹

The Daśapādī consists of ten chapters. When all the words exhaust possible arrangement by the end of the ninth chapter, the tenth chapter is made to contain all the remaining words of the Pañcapādī. Had the Daśapādī been written originally and independently, the author would have easily arranged the sūtras according to his choice and he would not have devoted a separate chapter exclusively for the alphabetically scattered uṇādi-words. It again upholds the view that the Pañcapādī is the model on which the Daśapādī has been compiled. It also seems plausible to say that the uṇādi-sūtras which Patañjali and Vāmana and Jayāditya² quote and which are not found in the Pañcapādī may be subsequent and deliberate insertions in the Daśapādī to give it a much older look.

Commentaries on the Pañcapādī

In spite of the fact that the uṇādi-sūtras have covered a vast region of Sanskrit grammar by virtue of various commentaries devoted to this section, we have no first-hand information as all the commentaries are not available. We find stray references to the unavailable commentaries in the commentaries which are available and other works on Sanskrit grammar. Not only do these commentaries speak volumes for the importance of the uṇādi-sūtras, but they warrant an absorbing study also. The commentaries which have been discussed in this chapter are as follows :

- (1) Ujjvaladatta's Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti
- (2) Śvetavanavāsin's Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti
- (3) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prakriyāsarvasva on the Uṇādi-khaṇḍa
- (4) Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhānta Kaumudī, Praudha Manoramā and allied commentaries

1. क्विब्वचिप्रच्छिश्रिस्तुदुपुज्वां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणञ्च। U.S.U., II-57.
क्विब्वचिप्रच्छिश्रिस्तुदुपुज्वां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणञ्च। D.P., X-2.
परौ व्रजेः षः पदान्ते क्विप् दीर्घश्च। Ibid., IX-8.
परौ व्रजेः षश्च पदान्ते। U.S.U., II-59.
2. Ka. 6.1.66.

- (5) Mahādevavedāntin's Uṇādikōśa
- (6) Perusūri's Auṇādika-padārṇava
- (7) Dayānanda Sarasvatī's Uṇādikōśa
- (8) Māṇikyadeva's Daśapādyuṇādi-vṛtti
- (9) Viṭṭhalārya's Prasāda on the Daśapādī in the Prakriyā Kaumudī of Rāmacandra
- (10) Anonymous commentary : Manuscript A

The Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta

This commentary on the Pañcapādī is the best known in the uṇādi literature. Theodor Aufrecht edited it with a valuable introduction.¹ Like other Sanskrit writers, Ujjvaladatta gives no account of himself except that he is also known by the name 'Jājali'.² He was a native of Bengal.³ The period of the author is not known. Mīmāṃsaka fixes his date about 1143 A.D. on the following facts:⁴

1. Sāyaṇa quoted Ujjvaladatta in his Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti⁵ which was written in 1315-1387 A.D.

2. Ujjvaladatta has quoted Medinī,⁶ which was written in the first half of the twelfth century.⁷

Macdonell places the commentary of Ujjvaladatta in the thirteenth century.⁸ Aufrecht also in his introduction to his edition of that work assigned it to 1250 A.D.⁹

By studying these facts it is safe to date Ujjvaladatta between 1143 and 1250 A.D.

1. Vide Systems, p. 54.
2. इति महोपाध्यायजाजलीत्यपरनामधेयश्रीमदुज्ज्वलविरचितायामुणादिवृत्तौ प्रथमः पादः। U.S.U., p.60.
3. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p.184.
4. Ibid., Vol. II, p.185.
5. “ऋजेन्द्राय इति सूत्रे वर्णशब्दस्य पाठोऽनार्षः, कृवृजुसिद्रुपन्यनिस्वपिभ्यो नित् इति नप्रत्ययेन सिद्धत्वात्” इति उज्ज्वलदत्तः। Mādhavīyā Dhātuvṛtti, p. 450. ed. Dwarikā Prasada, 1934.
6. U.S.U., p.36.
7. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p.186.
8. Sanskrit Grammar, Intro., p. xii.
9. Vide Systems, p.54.

Critical Assessment : This Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta is like a light-house to cross the ocean of the uṇādi-words. The author has exhausted every source which provides information about the uṇādi-sūtras and the words which are formed with the help of the uṇādi-affixes. He quotes extensively from various lexicons and grammatical works. As a consequence it has assumed the form of a reservoir of information. It throws a flood of light on the characteristics, analysis, authenticity of the uṇādi-sūtras, the gender of the uṇādi-words and the meaning of both the uṇādi-sūtras and words. Stray etymological expositions add to the utility of the commentary. It commands unparalleled esteem in the uṇādi-literature. No other commentary has been able to compete it, much less to excel it. The value and utility of this commentary becomes all the more obvious, when we see that each and every prominent commentator on the uṇādi-sūtras cannot but refer to him in matters of uncertainty and indecision.

He begins his commentary by paying his obeisance to Gaṇeśa, God, Sarasvatī, and the feet of his preceptor in the conventional manner to invoke their blessings in order that he may finish the task unobstructed. He himself claims superiority of his commentary in the field of the uṇādi-sūtras. He seems to have gone through all the scattered commentaries¹ on the uṇādi-sūtras, which in his opinion, lacked clarity and comprehensiveness in presenting the meaning of the sūtras, the root from which the word is derived and the word along with its connotations.² He expresses concern about his contribution and declares in a prophetic way that he who tries to commit plagiarism, shall ruin his repute.³ He further informs us that he has not glossed on the implications of the indicatory letters

1. वृत्तिं न्यासमनुन्यासं रक्षितं भागवृत्तिकाम्।
भाष्यं धातुप्रदीपं च तट्टीकां वर्णदेशनाम्।
उपाध्यायस्य सर्वस्वं सुभूतिं सोमनन्दिनम्।
कलिङ्गहट्टचन्द्रादीन् समीक्ष्यैषा कृतिर्मम। U.S.U., p.1, śl. 2-3.
2. Ibid., p.1, śl. 4, 5.
3. Ibid., p.1, śl. 7.

of the affixes, roots, augments and substitutes as they are already known from the Aṣṭādhyāyī.¹

Ujjvaladatta has commented upon 750 sūtras divided into five chapters. The first chapter comprises 158 sūtras, the second chapter 124 sūtras, the third chapter 160 sūtras, the fourth chapter 238 sūtras and the fifth only 70 sūtras. After the introductory verses, he enlists seventeen sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī² which, he says, should be read throughout the Pañcapādī, as they will help us comprehend a genuine meaning and analysis of the sūtras and also aid in the process of derivation. The commentary gives three hundred and twenty five uṇādi-affixes.³

The manner of his explaining the meaning of the sūtras is satisfactorily lucid. He utilises every Pāṇinian source for analysis and offers a convincing explanation. It sometimes seems that he does not try to resist the fondness of detail. That is why he oversteps the proper region of the uṇādi-sūtras and gives more unconcerned derivations. On the very first sūtra, he exhibits this tendency, when he gives – ‘devatā-dvandva’ – of ‘vāyu’ and ‘agni’.⁴ In deriving ‘bhārgava’ from the uṇādi-word bhrgu, he quotes Pa. 2.4.65.⁵ So does he again on ‘varatantavīya’.⁶ In this aspect he seems to have been influenced by Yāska who explains all the constituent padas of a mantra and all other words which come by way of exemplification. Nevertheless Ujjvaladatta strikes the right balance and does not let himself fall a prey to labyrinthal mess of details to that extent.

He records all the roots along with their meanings. He does

1. प्रत्ययानां च धातूनामागमादेशयोस्तथा।
व्यक्तमेवानुबन्धानां फलं नोदीरितं ततः॥ U.S.U. p.1, śl. 8.
- 2-3. एषा सप्तदशी आपञ्चपादपरिसमाप्तेरनुवर्तते। ततो वक्ष्यमाणा सपादशतत्रयमुणादयः
साधवो भवन्ति। Ibid., p.2.
4. उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः – इति देवताद्वन्द्वे च इत्यानङ् न भवति। वाय्वग्नी।
अग्निवायू। Ibid., pp. 2-3.
5. भृगोरपत्यं भार्गवः। बहुवचने तु ‘अत्रिभृगुवत्सकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च इति तद्धितलोपे
भृगवः। Ibid., p.15.
6. वरतन्तुर्मुनिः। तित्तिरवरतन्तु-इत्यादिना प्रोक्तार्थे छण्। वारतन्तवीयः। Ibid., p.29.

not give meanings of the sautra-roots. He offers etymologies of the uṇādi-words at places. He says that 'mayūra' is so called as it weeps on the earth. Here he does not fail to record the different etymology by Kalinga¹ whose grammatical exposition of the word 'mayūra' seems better. The uṇādi word 'mahiṣa' is so derived as gods are propitiated by it.² He quotes from the Dhātu Pārāyaṇa, quite interestingly, that the father-in-law is called śvaśura because he should happily be approached without any loss of time.³ For asafoetida, he says that its peculiarity lies in dispelling the smell of other spices.⁴ The army is called 'camū' only because it is supposed to virtually devour the other nation.⁵ The woman who weds another man after the demise of her first husband is satirically termed 'didhiṣū'.⁶ She evidently loses patience and fails to devote herself to higher ideals. She is considered to be diseased with the weakness of the senses. For such an impatient woman, of course, 'didhiṣū' is an apparently better term than 'punarbhū'; but the former reflects the biased attitude to woman in the man-dominated society. The words 'vṛṣala' and 'śūdra' rank equal in society in the tribal classification. For the former, Ujjvaladatta says that he lacks decency of etiquette as a result of which he suffers in status. He quotes from some commentary on the Amarakośa that vṛṣala is he who disregards and plays havoc with religion.⁷ For the synonymous term 'śūdra' he quotes Vyāsa : A śūdra is subject to social torture when he has to hear abusive remarks about himself.⁸

1. मह्यां रौतेति पृषोदरादित्वादपि मयूरः। कलिङ्गस्तु मयुं शब्दं करोत्यातोऽनुपसर्गात्कः इति कप्रत्यये दीर्घत्वे वा मयूर इत्याह। U.S.U., p.28.
2. महन्त्यनेन देवानिति महिषः पशुविशेषः। Ibid., p.21.
3. आशु व्याधिव्य श्वशुर इति धातुपारायणम्। Ibid., p.21.
4. हन्ति स्वगन्धेनान्यगन्धानिति हिङ्गु। Ibid., p.17
5. चमति परराष्ट्रमिति चमूः सेना। Ibid., p. 31.
6. धैर्यम् इन्द्रियदौर्बल्यात्स्यति त्यजति इति दिधिषूः पुनर्भूः। Ibid., p. 35.
7. वर्षति क्षरति यत्र कुत्रापि। वृषं धर्मं लुनाति इति वृषल इति काचिदमरटीका। Ibid., p.38.
8. शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्। T.B.U., II-19.

He seems to be an authority on Sanskrit grammar as it is evident from his penetrating approach. No sooner does he notice the slightest repetition, than he promptly alludes to it.¹ He points out constitutional defects of the uṇādi-sūtras. He says that 'yogavibhāga' serves little purpose and it, therefore, is subject to examination.² The sūtras (V-68 and V-69) could have been read as one sūtra as 'prathicaribhyāmac'. This tendency suggests a free-hand meddling with the uṇādi-sūtras. He feels concerned with the recurrence of the word 'saṁjñāyām'³ and says that it shows that the uṇādi-words are derivatives. He also attaches some significance to any peculiarity that he comes across in the uṇādi-sūtras. For instance, the uṇādi-sūtras (I-23 and I-128) read the affixes at the beginning and the verbal roots afterwards. He remarks that the deployment of an affix at the commencement of the sūtra suggests that the affix could be added to other roots also.⁴ This appears to be a rationalising tendency on the part of Ujjvaladatta because the characteristic 'bahulam' is good enough to deliver the goods. Whenever he comes across such a sūtra which he does not consider of any utility, he calls it 'anārṣa'. On such occasions, he often quotes other authorities. The uṇādi-sūtra III-91 prescribes the formation of 'jīmūta' which comes under the prṣodarādi-class.⁵ The sūtra II-15 has not been incorporated in the Sūti-vṛtti and the word enjoined by the sūtra can be had with the suffix 'ghañ' affixed to the root 'ṣṭup'.⁶ This sūtra is, therefore, an interpolation. But this is not the proper way to term some sūtras interpolations only on the basis that the particular words are derived by some other rules also, while it is generally said that the nominal stems can have many derivations.⁷

1. कमिग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्थम्। अर्जिदृशीत्यादिना कुप्रत्यये तुकि सिद्धत्वात्। U.S.U., p.29.
2. योगविभागप्रयोजनं चिन्त्यम्। Ibid., p.219.
3. संज्ञाधिकारे पुनः संज्ञाग्रहणं प्रायेणोणादीनां यौगिकत्वसूचनार्थम्। Ibid., p.88.
4. प्राक्प्रत्ययनिर्देशादन्यतोऽपि भवति। Ibid., pp.12, 47 etc.
5. जीवनं जल मूत्रयति स्रवयतीति पृषोदरादित्वात् सिद्धेरनार्थमिदं सूत्रमिति पुरुषोत्तमदेवः। Ibid., p.125.
6. एतत्सूत्रं सूतीवृत्तौ न दृश्यते। सर्वस्वे तु ष्टुप समुच्छ्राय इत्यस्मात् घञि स्तूप इति साधितम् अतोऽनार्थमिति लक्ष्यते।
7. Cf. संज्ञानां बहुधा व्युत्पत्तिः।

His quotations from different literary works and lexicons are important from the linguistic point of view. Some of the important works are: Kādambarī by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Kirātārjunīyam by Bhāravi, Amarakośa, Dvirūpakośa, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa etc.¹ The purpose of quoting these works is to decide the gender and the meaning of the uṇādi-words.

The commentary is not completely free from defects.² When he takes up the uṇādi-sūtra I-141³ for elucidation, he suggests that two 'ūṭhs' should be substituted⁴ for 'vakāra' and the penultimate 'akāra' of the root √ava 'to protect'. But in the Kāśikā only one 'ūṭh' has been enjoined for both 'vakāra' and the penultimate 'akāra'.⁵ When the author says that 'Om' is an indeclinable, because it belongs to the 'cādi' class, he is wrong. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita remarks that the word 'Om' is an indeclinable not because it belongs to the 'cādi' class but because it belongs to the 'svarādi' class. It can only be an indeclinable under the 'cādi' class when it does not denote any entity. 'Om' stands for God. How can it be said to denote a non-entity?⁶

Unlike Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita he rarely quotes from the Vedic literature. It eclipses the utility of this Vṛtti, as most of the uṇādi-words are Vedic usages which do play a deciding role in ascertaining the actual meaning and also the accent of the Vedic words. The aspect of accentuation is not so much heeded in his commentary. But it is very important so far as the problem of the textual variations is concerned. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has utilised this method to the fullest extent to decide the correct readings of the uṇādi-sūtras.⁷ To sum up in few words, the commentary of Ujjvaladatta

1. See appendix I for details.

2. Infra, chapter IV.

3. अवतेष्टिलोपश्च।

4. वकारस्य चोपधायाश्च द्वयोरुठोर्दीर्घत्वे कृते गुणः। U.S.U., p. 52.

5. Ka. 6-4-20.

6. चादिपाठादव्ययत्वमित्युज्ज्वलदत्तः। तन्न। तेषामसत्त्वार्थत्वात्। वस्तुतस्तु स्वरादिपाठादव्ययत्वम्। अवतीति ओम्। U.S. Sk., I-141.

7. Infra, chapter IV.

is exhaustively informative. Though it contains numerous quotations from important works yet it lacks deep and penetrating analysis of the sūtras as Śvetavanavāsin does. This Vṛtti is a useful, informative and leisurely elaboration of the uṇādi-sūtras.

Uṇādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Śvetavanavāsin

Introduction : Śvetavanavāsin comes next in importance to Ujjvaladatta in the field of uṇādi-literature. Śvetavanavāsin was a native of Indugrāma and was the son of Āryabhaṭṭa, a master in Dharmaśāstra, in the village of Uttarmeru.¹ T.R. Chintamani identified this village with the village of the same name in the chingleput district of the Madras Presidency. The manuscript of this commentary was procured from Malabar. It is still disputable which of the two, Ujjvaladatta or Śvetavanavāsin, is the older. In the absence of reliable material Chintamani fixed the lower and earlier limits as Sixteenth and Tenth centuries respectively.² Mīmāṃsaka, with vulnerable evidences, has tried to fix his date as 12th century A.D.³ However, nothing conclusive about his chronology can be given.

Critical Assessment : Whereas the commentary of Ujjvaladatta teems with very valuable and exhaustive information about the uṇādi-literature, the commentary of Śvetavanavāsin gains superiority over the former, at least, from the grammatical point of view. His analysis of the sūtras is superb. He goes deep and draws out the gems in the form of his explanatory expressions in which the simplicity and straightforwardness of Ujjvaladatta is absent. One has to read between the lines to comprehend the profound remarks of the author.

He has commented on the same number of the uṇādi-sūtras, that is, 750 sūtras, but his chapter-wise numerical arrangement differs. His first chapter consists of 146 sūtras, the second chapter 125 sūtras, the third chapter 155 sūtras, the fourth 243 sūtras and

1. इतीन्द्रग्रामसमीपवर्त्यग्रहारवास्तव्येन उत्तरमेर्वभिजनेन धर्मशास्त्रपारगार्यभट्टसूनुना गार्ग्येण श्वेतवनवासिना विरचितायामुणादिवृत्तौ प्रथम पादः। U.S.S., p.57.

2. Ibid., Intro., p. x.

3. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p.189.

the fifth chapter 81 sūtras. Immediately after paying his salutation to Patāñjali, he embarks on the proper work.¹ He says that he will abide by the views of Patāñjali in explaining the uṇādi-sūtras.

He dwells on the characteristics of uṇādi-sūtras in detail, whenever he gets an opportunity. In his opinion the uṇādi-sūtras are the work of Śākaṭāyana who might have allowed the application of the rules from other grammatical works, as it is obvious that the uṇādi-sūtras do require them.² This view cannot be upheld as the uṇādi-sūtras are an accessory to Sanskrit grammar (Aṣṭādhyāyī) proper. In case Śākaṭāyana wrote them, he must have followed his own technique and technical terms for the grammatical mutations and functions which, as found in the extant uṇādi-sūtras, exactly follow the descriptive technique adopted in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Śvetavanavāsin is always eager to make the most of the paribhāṣās of the Mahābhāṣya, as he seems to have been much influenced by him. Sometimes the use of paribhāṣās looks like a square peg in a circular hole. He is always ready to use each and every opportunity to use the paribhāṣās. On the very first sūtra, he decides which root should be taken, when there are two similar roots. He quotes a paribhāṣā which says that the root, the 'vikaraṇa' of which is not elided, should be preferred to the root, the 'vikaraṇa' of which is elided.³ The roots $\sqrt{pā}$ 'to drink' and $\sqrt{pā}$ 'to protect' belong to the 'bhvādigana' and the 'adādigana' respectively. The 'vikaraṇa' 'śap' is due in the case of both the roots by Pa. 3.1.68⁴ but 'śap' is elided by Pa. 2.4.72,⁵ in the case of the roots of the 'adādigana'. So according to the paribhāṣā, the root of the

'bhvādigana' is within the jurisdiction of the sūtra. The word thus derived is 'pāyu' meaning 'anus', while other commentators take both the roots and say that the uṇādi word 'pāyu' means both 'anus' and 'protector'. The word 'pāyu' in the latter sense is frequently found in the Vedic literature.¹ Such an allurements of applying the grammatical paribhāṣās does not seem to be in order as in most cases the purpose of the uṇādi-sūtras appears to be curtailed.

He holds the view that the nominal stems are variegated² and so should be their ways of derivation. Sometimes the uṇādi-affixes undergo certain grammatical operations and sometimes they do not. The uṇādi affixes 'isi'³ and 'usi'⁴ assume the technical sense as a 'pratyaya' and the dental 'sakāra' is changed into the cerebral 'ṣakāra' by 'ādeśapratyayayoḥ', while 'ṭha' in kaṇṭha and 'kha' in śaṅkha are not treated of as affixes. They, therefore, are not substituted by 'ika' and 'īn' respectively. All this takes place by virtue of the laxity of 'bahulam'.⁵

The laudable characteristics of the commentary of Śvetavanavāsin consist in quoting extensively the sūtras which are relevant to the process of the derivation of the uṇādi-words. His manner of presentation also differs from that of others as he busies himself examining the uṇādi-sūtras minutely.⁶ Unlike Ujjvaladatta, he pays due heed to the accent of the uṇādi-words. He does not fail to take notice of this aspect whenever it strikes him. He adds purposeful remarks on the indicatory letters or the repetition of

1. प्रणम्य भाष्यकाराय तन्मतस्पर्शशोधिताम्।
व्याख्यामुणादितन्त्रस्य करिष्यामि यथाविधि। U.S.S., p.1.
2. गकारदेरनुबन्धस्य कार्यार्थमुपादानात् इहोणादितन्त्रात्मकस्य (तन्त्रे युगाद्यात्मकस्य) कार्यस्य कस्यचित् उपादानात् अनेनोणादिकारेण युगादिकार्यं तन्त्रान्तरविहितमप्यङ्गीकृतमिति गम्यते। Ibid., p.2.
3. "लुग्विकरणालुग्विकरणयोरलुग्विकरणस्यैव" इति परिभाषया पिबतेरेव ग्रहणम्। Ibid., p.1.
4. कर्तरि शप्।
5. अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः।

1. Vide U.S.Sk., on I - i.
2. संज्ञाया नानारूपत्वात्। U.S.S., p.2.
3. अर्चिशुचिहुसुपिच्छिर्दिछादिभ्योः इसिः। Ibid., II. 109.
4. अर्तिपूवपियजितनिधनित्रपिभ्यो नित्। Ibid., II-118.
5. प्रत्ययादिसंज्ञामपि ते बहुलं लभन्ते। 'सर्पिषः' 'यजुषः' इत्यादिप्रत्ययसंज्ञा; तथा च 'आदेशप्रत्यययोः' इति षत्वम्। 'कण्ठः' 'शङ्खः' इत्यादि नास्ति। तथा हि प्रत्ययस्योच्यमानम् इकादेशादिकार्यं न भवति। Ibid., p.2.
6. 'अजेर्व्यघञपोः' इत्यत्रैव 'वा लिटि' इत्यतो वेति किं प्रयोजनम् ? नेयं विभाषा, किं तर्हि, आदेश एव धातोः, तेन 'वा' इत्ययमादेशो भवति अजेर्यौ परतः, वायु इति अस्यां व्युत्पत्तौ सूत्रे वा ग्रहणं मतभेदात्, भाष्यकारस्य तन्मतम्। वृत्तिकाराणां तु ततोऽन्यत्। Ibid., p.3.

some derivation. He, too, quotes from the Vedic literature, to take stock of the discrepancies that have crept into the uṇādi-literature.¹

The etymological expositions that he offers often seem to bear the stamp of originality as they differ from those of others at many places. According to him 'apaṣṭhu' is he who does not know how to acquit himself well in society or who behaves like a child.² The uṇādi-word 'raṇḍā' means that woman whom others enjoy freely.³ It goes against the general meaning, that is, 'a widowed woman'.⁴ He offers an analogy when he gives the meaning of 'kamaṭha' as 'breast', because the breast is as protruded as the back of a tortoise. The cloud is called 'mudira', as when people have a glance of it, they are beside themselves with joy.⁵ Blood is the vital part of the body. It is called 'rudhira' because it sustains bones etc. in the body.⁶ Unlike Ujjvaladatta, he says that 'mayūra' is so-called because it kills the snakes⁷ etc. He also records a parallel etymology that 'mayūra' is so called because it crows on the earth (q.v.). But both these explanations do not solve the problem of the accent. The word 'mayūra' is accented on the middle in the Vedas whereas it is accented on the first syllable as per the affix. However, when we recollect the theory that all nouns are not derived from verbal roots, the problematic word 'mayūra' will receive accentuation on the middle syllable by dint of the phiṭa-sūtra,⁸ which says that a word which has a short vowel at the end or which has two short vowels and which consists of more than one vowel, will be accented on the long vowel. So far as textual variations are concerned, he does not go into detail as

1. तथा च वेदे अन्तोदात्तस्य बहुतुशब्दस्य प्रयोगो दृश्यते। "वहतुं यस्मा यन्ति" इति। एवं च कृत्वा एधिवहोरतुः इति पठन्ति ते नादरणीयाः। U.S.S., I - 75.
2. अपतिष्ठति अशोभनं तिष्ठति इति अपष्ठु बालः मर्यादाभ्रष्टश्च। Ibid., I-25.
3. रम्यते स्वेच्छया रण्डा कुलटा। Ibid., I-107.
4. A.P., p. 46.
5. यं दृष्ट्वा मोदन्ते मुदिरो मेघः। Ibid., I-50.
6. रुणद्धि अस्थ्यादिकमिति रुधिरं शोणितम्। Ibid., I-50.
7. मोनाति हिनस्ति सपादिकमिति मयूरः। Ibid., p. 31.
8. लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वो गुरुः। Svarasiddhāntacandrikā, p. 274.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita does. He sometimes rationalises or sometimes rightly justifies his adoption of a particular sūtra as such.¹

The commentary is not altogether free from anomalies. Though he is extremely analytical, yet he sometimes offers queer arguments in respect of certain uṇādi-words.² This becomes clear when we, at the end, find the list of Sanskrit alphabet derived with the help of fourteen sūtras.³ These appear to be forced derivations which belittle the true sense of grammar. Nevertheless the commentary gives much valuable information about the uṇādi-literature. His love for paribhāṣās, his concern about the correct accentuation of the uṇādi-words, and his temptation for etymological witticisms, however, add to the value of his Uṇādi-vṛtti.

The Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

Introduction : Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is a talented author. Besides his famous Nārāyaṇīya and Prakriyāsarvasva, he wrote devotional compositions, grammatical treatises, campūs, panegyrics, etc. S. Venkatsubramania Iyer places him between 1560 and 1666 A.D.⁴ But V.A. Ramaswami Sastri says he must have lived between the second and first halves of the 16th and 17th centuries⁵ respectively. He belonged to Kerala. His father Māṛḍatta was a reputed scholar in Mīmāṃsā. His home was on the banks of the river now known in Malabar as Bharatapuzha which joins the sea at Ponani on the west coast. Devanārāyaṇa, King of Puzha, called him to his court. He wrote this work at his instance in 1586 A.D.⁶

The commentary written on the Pāṇinian Sanskrit grammar by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is known as the Prakriyāsarvasva. It is arranged under twenty sections: (1) technical terms, (2) interpretation, (3) euphonic combination, (4) primary affixes, (5) secondary affixes, (6) compounds, (7) feminine affixes, (8) meaning of the case-affixes, (9) case, (10) division into middle forms etc.,

1. U.S.S., p.33, I-70.
2. Ibid., I-89.
3. Ibid., pp. 235-36
4. Prakriyāsarvasva, Intro., p. x.
5. Ibid., Preface, p. iii.
6. U.S.N., Intro., p. ix.

(11) verbal affixes, (12) the different meanings of tenses and moods, (13) forms with *san*-suffix, (14) forms with *yañ*-suffix, (15) dropping of *yañ* suffix, (16) verbs from nominal forms, (17) rules of interpretation, (18) roots, (19) the *uṇādi*-affixes, (20) Vedic.¹

Critical Assessment : The nineteenth section of this voluminous work treats of the *uṇādi*-affixes. The number of the *uṇādi*-sūtras which he has taken up for elucidation is 765 divided into five chapters. The chapterwise arrangement is: chapter I - 150 sūtras, chapter II - 123, chapter III - 160, chapter IV - 246 and chapter V - 88. In this manner we find that this commentary contains seventeen sūtras more than that of Śvetavanavāsin. The sūtras I-64, II-8-18-19-21-28, III-71-107, IV-89, V-57 of the *Vṛtti* of Śvetavanavāsin are omitted in that of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and the *uṇādi*-sūtras of the latter I-105, I-113, 146-147, II-5-80-91, III-62-65-69-92-130, IV-81-122-244, V-9-10-11-12-13-14-86 are absent in that of the former.

He begins with a verse which contains his observations about the characteristics of the *uṇādi*-sūtras. He says that the *uṇādi*-sūtras have been formulated as it is essential that every word should be grammatically regulated whether the sense of the root is extended to the derived word or not. He adds further that the words have many ways of derivations. The last argument that he gives to vindicate the genuineness of the *uṇādi*-sūtras is the removal of every doubt about the very being of the words.²

Ślokas are a speciality of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. He records in ślokas his characteristic remarks and different views about the *uṇādi*-sūtras and about the words derived with their help. His verse on the sūtra (I-40) is famous as it records the difference of opinion

1. इह संज्ञा परिभाषा सन्धिः कृत् तद्धिताः समासाश्च।
स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः सुबर्थाः सुपां विधिश्चात्मनेपदविभागः।
तिङपि च लार्थविशेषाः सनन्त-यङ्-यङ्लुक्श्च सुब्धातुः।
न्याय्यो धातुरुणादिः छान्दसमिति सन्तु विंशतिः खण्डाः। U.S.N., p. ix.
2. अर्थं विना धातूक्तिर्व्युत्पादवश्यकत्वात् कृता ।
व्युत्पत्तेश्च बहुत्वेन शब्दासन्देहसिद्धये ॥ Ibid., p.1.

of Pāṇini and Bhoja about the irregularly formed 'makura' and 'dardura'.¹ On another important occasion, he says that the word 'mayūra' is accented on the middle which cannot be accounted for by the 'nit' affix. This is why Bhoja has rightly enunciated the 'ūra' affix without the anubandha 'nakāra'.² A keen perusal of his *Prakriyāsarvasva* gives evidence of Bhoja's influence on him. After explaining the sūtras, the author concerns himself with explaining those words properly which are omitted in the text, but which are derived by Bhoja in his *uṇādi*-sūtras. Not quite satisfied with this, he has given at the end all the remaining words which are derived with the affixes other than those enjoined in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja.³ Like Śvetavanavāsin, he gives, at the end, the fourteen sūtras which treat of each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet as a monosyllabic word and explain it etymologically.

The twentytwo ślokas⁴ sum up nicely what he has to say about the *uṇādi*-sūtras, and help the students remember the various implications for a longer time. The peculiarities of this commentary count on these ślokas.

Siddhānta Kaumudī, Prauḍha Manoramā and allied commentaries on the Uṇādi-sūtras

Introduction : Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita wrote the *Prauḍha Manoramā* on his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* written after the *prakriyā* style. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is well-known for his contribution to Sanskrit grammar. He belonged to Mahārāṣṭra. His father's name was Lakṣmīdhara. He flourished about 1570 A.D.⁵ But Dr. S.K. Belvalkar places him

1. अकारं मुकुरस्यादौ उकारं दर्दुरस्य च ।
बभाण पाणिनिस्तौ व्यत्ययेनाह भोजराट् ॥ U.S.N., p.10
2. मध्योदात्तो मयूरोऽयमिष्टो नित्वान्न सिद्ध्यति ।
तस्मादूरान्त एवोक्तो मयूरो भोजभूभुजा ॥
3. उक्तेषु प्रत्ययेष्वेव प्रकृत्याधिक्यगोचराः ।
भोजोक्तयः पुरा प्रोक्ता अवशिष्टानथ बुवे ॥ U.S.N., p. 142
4. Ibid., pages 1, 2, 3, 10, 15, 28, 42, 45, 85, 87, 98, 116, 117, 124, 135, and 136.
5. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p.490.

in 1600 A.D.¹ Besides shorter works such as commentaries on the Pāṇinīya Dhātu-pāṭha, Līngānuśāsana, etc., Dīkṣita wrote the Śabdakaustubha which is a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī similar in plan to the Kāśikā. To the commentaries ancient and modern on the Siddhānta Kaumudī there is no limit. The famous among them are the Tattvabodhinī by Jñānendra Sarasvatī, the Bālaṃanoramā by Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and the Laghu and Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara by Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. All these commentaries deal with the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras which have been inserted between pūrva and uttara kṛdantas.

Assessment of the Commentaries : The Prauḍha Manoramā is very important from the point of view of textual variations. On account of the flexible characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras a host of discrepancies crept into the body of the uṇādi-sūtras. Each and every commentary differs in number and readings of the sūtras. Dīkṣita's attempt at ushering in the rectification of the uṇādi-sūtras deserves commendation, as his approach in this respect is quite convincing. He has taken great help from the Vedic literature with regard to the accent and meaning of the uṇādi-words. Whenever he finds any anomalies regarding the uṇādi-sūtras in the commentaries of his predecessors, he criticizes them. He does it nicely, indeed. He criticizes Ujjvaladatta, Śvetavanavāsin, Māṇikyadeva and others. For instance, he takes exception to the affix 'knu' which is found in the Daśapādī, as the uṇādi-word formed with this affix is against the Vedic usage, that is, 'kṛtnu'.² His observations beam with confidence. He is satisfied with the mere allusion to textual variations noted by other commentators, when he thinks the difference is negligible.³

Apart from the textual variations which will be studied in the fourth chapter, he differs from others in respect of the interpreta-

1. Systems, p.46.

2. दशपादीवृत्तौ तु क्नुवति तकाररहितं पठित्वा कृणु कर्ता हनुर्वक्त्रैकदेशः बाहुलकान्नलोपः। गमेस्तु जिगत्नुवित्युदाहृतम्। तत्सर्वं प्रामादिकं लक्ष्यविसंवादात्। तथा च श्रूयते सुरूपकृत्नुमूर्त्ये। मा नो वधाय हन्वे। P.M., p.775.

3. षवन्नित्येके on प्रथेः षिवन् सम्प्रसारणञ्च। U.S.Sk., I-148.

tion of the sūtras. He enters into elaborate and studious analysis to decide the nature of the derivations enjoined by the uṇādi-sūtra IV-204. He says that the augment 'nut' should be extended to this sūtra, while the Daśapādī does not do so. The Daśapādī gives examples such as 'rekaḥ', 'rekaś'. Dīkṣita says that the augment 'nut' finds itself in the next sūtra IV-205. The Daśapādī explains that it happens by virtue of the application of maṇḍūkapluti. To it Bhaṭṭoji replies that there is no scope for 'maṇḍūkapluti' here.¹ When Ujjvaladatta derives words never found in Vedic or classical Sanskrit, Dīkṣita reacts to it sharply by saying that as the words are alien to Sanskrit language, the interpretation of the sūtra by Ujjvaladatta is not acceptable. The enunciation of irregular words by the uṇādi-sūtras which suffer from looseness, is a puzzling phenomenon. These formations are susceptible to discrepancies as the commentator feels himself free to twist the interpretation in any direction.² Dīkṣita gives his own plausible etymological exposition. He does not record the important different opinions in this respect.

There is no doubt that Dīkṣita's observations show a great wealth of grammatical subtleties. On the sūtra (IV-136)³ he, again, gets involved in detailed analysis. He records almost all the views of others about the derivative process of the word 'sakhin'. Examining a series of views, he justifies his own stand successfully.⁴ He quotes extensively from the Vedic Samhitas to decide

1. इह दशपादीवृत्तौ तु नुद् नानुवर्तितः रेकः रेकसौ इत्युदाहृतं च। तन्न। उत्तरसूत्रे नुडनुवृत्तेर्निर्वादादत्वात् मण्डूकप्लुतौ मानाभावात् लक्ष्यविसंवादाच्च। उज्ज्वलदत्तेन तु रिचेर्धने चित्किञ्चेति पठित्वा नुटमत्रानुवर्त्य कित्वाद् गुणाभावः नुटश्चुत्वेन अकारे रिञ्चमिति साधितम्। तदपि न। उक्तोदाहरणस्य लोकवेदयोरप्रसिद्धत्वात्। P.M., p.803.
2. केचित्तु अम गतौ अस्य दुक् अन्दूर्बुद्धिरिति व्याचख्युः। Ibid., p. 755.
3. समाने ख्यः स चोदात्तः।
4. यत्तुज्ज्वलदत्तेनोक्तम् इज् स्यात् स चोदात्त इति। तन्न। इणः सन्निधानात्। इजो विच्छिन्नत्वात्। यदपि तेनैव नौव्य इति पूर्वसूत्रे उक्तम् इजेवानुवर्तते न त्विण् उत्तरत्रोदात्तवचनात् ज्ञापकादिति तदपि न। स चोदात्त इति हि नायं प्रत्ययं निर्देष्टुं तच्छब्द किंतु समानशब्दस्य स्थाने विधेयं निर्देष्टुं शब्दस्वरूपपरः। तथा च कथं ज्ञापकता। यदपि स इजिति व्याख्याय समानस्य सभाव इति प्रतिक्रियास्मरणमात्रं कृतं तदपि न। विधायकाभावात्। यदपि

contd....

the meaning of the word, in addition to its meanings given in the popular lexicons. These Vedic quotations also aid in matters concerning textual variations as accent plays an important role in deciding the nature of the anubandhas. Though Dikṣita seems to be obsessed with the aspect of accentuation, yet he leaves some problem-words without any remarks in this regard. The word 'mayūra' is controversial with regard to the accent. The possible affixes 'ūran' and 'ūrac' will incur accentuation on the beginning and the last syllables respectively. Logically the affix should be 'ūra' which will entail the accent of the affix (pratyaya-svara). Another important word is 'rudra' which, too, escapes his notice but Jñānendra Sarasvatī makes up the deficiency by adding an elaborate note on it.¹

The Prauḍha Manoramā also tells us about the characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras. He accepts both the views in connection with the uṇādi-words, that is, the uṇādi-words retain the implication of the roots and they have conventionally settled meanings.² In case we study his observations carefully, he owes many ideas to a larger

स्वरमञ्जरीकारादिभिः समानस्य छन्दसीति सूत्रेणेत्युक्तं तदपि न लोके सखिशब्दस्य साधुतापत्तेः। अपि सखा सखायमब्रवीत् सखा सख्ये असचत्। सखायस्त्वाववृमहे। सखा सखिभ्य ईड्य इत्यादि मन्त्रेषु सर्वत्र सखिशब्द आद्युदात्त एवेति निर्विवादम्। एवं च इज उदात्त इति व्याख्यानं वेदवार्तानभिज्ञत्वप्रयुक्तमेव। तथा ज्ञापकोपन्यासोऽपि गर्भस्रावेणैव गतः। अपि च त्वत्पक्षे सख्य इणित्येव सूत्र्यताम् किं.....इत्यादिना शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च गौरवप्रसङ्गात्। अपि च इणित्यपि मास्तु। नौव्य इत्यादि त्रिसूत्री-जनिघसिभ्यामित्यतः प्रागेव उपेयताम्। एवं हि महदेव लाघवम्। स च उदात्त इति मण्डूकप्लुतौ ज्ञापकस्यानाश्रयणात्। ननु वार्तेर्दिञ्चेति डित्त्वोपजीवनार्थमित्थं पाठ इति चेत्। तर्हीणप्रकरणान्तरमेव इजप्रकरणं सर्वत्रास्तु। नौव्य इति इज् पठ्यताम्। आडि श्रीत्यस्यानन्तरं वसिवपीत्यादि पठ्यताम्। इज् चानुवर्तिष्यते न तु डित्वम्। वकाराद्यनेकधातुपाठवैयर्थ्यापत्तेरिति दिक्। तस्मादस्य उक्तैव व्याख्या सुधीभिरादत्तव्या दशपादीवृत्तिग्रन्था, ख्या धातौ माधवग्रन्थः यस्ते सखिभ्य आवरम्, इत्यादीन् मन्त्रान् व्याचक्षणाणां वेदभाष्यकृताम् अनेकप्रघट्टस्थिता ग्रन्थाश्चेहानुकूला इत्यवधेयम्। P.M., pp. 798-99.

1. रोदेर्णिलुक् च। U.T.B., II-24.
2. आद्ये तु योगरूढिः। द्वितीये तु योगमात्रमिति विवेकः। अत एव द्वितीये धात्वर्थे प्रतिकारकान्वयो भवत्येव। तथा च भट्टिः राघवस्य ततः कार्ये कारूनार्नरपुङ्गवः सर्ववानरसेनानामाश्वगमनमादिशत्। इति। P.M., p.746.

extent to Ujjvaladatta as a major portion of the Prauḍha Manoramā resembles that of the commentary by Ujjvaladatta.

A comparative study of both the Prauḍha Manoramā and the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī (1750 A.D.)¹ convinces us that the latter is virtually a reproduction of the former but not altogether devoid of certain essential and useful modifications and amplifications.

The Bālamānoramā of Vāsudeva on the Siddhānta Kaumudī is much easier to comprehend. It was written to enable children or the less-gifted to learn Sanskrit grammar easily, as is implied in the opening remarks of the author.² It avoids the complicated spots and incorporates all that is easy and indispensable. On the uṇādi-sūtras it can be termed as the easiest commentary. It does not give grammatical details. It simply enlists the verbal roots enjoined in the sūtras and indicates the affix to be added. It also quotes the relevant Pāṇinian sūtras.

Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara and Laghuśabdenduśekhara are the works of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. They are written after the Navya-vyākaraṇa style. They are profound and the language that the author has used in both of his works is attractive. His intelligent and pithical approach marked with frequent grammatical witticisms speaks volumes for the clarity of vision he commands. In the beginning of the Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara, Nāgeśa remarks that neither elaboration nor conciseness should be of much concern to us as the characteristic 'bahulam' exercises its authority in a despotic manner. Often do the uṇādi-words have the conventionally settled connotations. They cannot be dissected into meaningful components, still they are derived from the verbal roots with the help of uṇādi-affixes.³

He does not take up all the uṇādi-sūtras, nor does he deal with all the uṇādi-words given in the Siddhānta Kaumudī. He leaves

1. Systems, p.48.
2. व्याख्याता बहुभिः प्रौढैरेषा सिद्धान्तकौमुदी। वासुदेवस्तु तद्व्याख्यां वष्टि बालमनोरमाम्॥ B.M., p.1.
3. उणादिसूत्रेषु लाघवगौरवचिन्ता न कार्या। प्रायः उणादिप्रत्ययान्ता रूढिशब्दा अवयवार्थशून्या, असन्तमपि अवयवार्थमाश्रित्य व्युत्पाद्यन्ते। B.S.S., Vol. III, p.2078.

them probably with the idea that they are too easy to require any significant remarks. He lacks the penetration of Dīkṣita in respect of the uṇādi-sūtras. For instance, on the word 'vidhura'¹ he simply mentions the views of those who regard 'vithura' as a correct word and does not go into detail. Unlike others he declares the repetition² of 'kami' a useless phenomenon. Nāgeśa seems to be an unbiased judge in matters of indecision. He does not shirk making independent observations either.³ For the sake of clarity with regard to the meanings of the uṇādi-words he also gives the words of a popular dialect.⁴

Uṇādi-kośa of Mahādevavedāntin

Introduction : Mahādevavedāntin was a pupil of Svāmī Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī. He is known by other names also such as Mahādeva Sarasvatīvedāntin and Vedāntinmahādeva. He was a sanyāsin.⁵ Garbe places Mahādeva at about 1600 A.D. considering him to have lived between Vijñānabhikṣu whose Bhāṣya he has borrowed from and Varadarāja Bhaṭṭa who mentions a gloss on the Sāṅkhyabhāṣya which might have been that of Mahādeva. Since Varadarāja Bhaṭṭa wrote his Laghu Kaumudī in 1658 A.D., Garbe thought that Mahādeva must be earlier.⁶ But K. Kunjunni Raja says that Mahādeva himself says at the end of the Viṣṇusahasranāmāṭīkā written by him that it was composed in Samvat 1750 which is equivalent to 1694 A.D. So he might have lived in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷

Mahādeva also wrote (i) Amarkośaṭīkā, (ii) Tattvānusandhāna, (iii) Advaitakaustubha, (iv) Viṣṇusahasranāmāṭīkā, (v) Sāṅkhyasūtravṛttisāra, (vi) Tattvacandrikā, (vii) Commentary on Rāmasahasranāma.⁸

1. केचित् व्यथेरेव धकारान्तादेशो बाहुलकात्। तदभावे थमध्योऽपि इति आहुः॥ B.S.S., Vol. III, p.2081.
2. अनेनैव कन्तोः सिद्धौ अर्जिदृशीति सूत्रे कमिग्रहणं व्यर्थम्। Ibid., p. 2083.
3. वस्तुतो 'बल प्राणने' इत्यस्य बलौ सिद्धे वर्णैरादेशविधानं व्यर्थम्। Ibid., p.2109.
4. अरुई इति प्रसिद्धः- झरणाख्यं लोहमयम्। Ibid., p. 2078.
5. Vide U.K.M., Intro., p. ii.
6. Vide Introduction to Sāṅkhyasūtravṛttisāra.
7. U.K.M., Intro., p. iv.
8. Ibid., p. iv.

Assessment : The Uṇādi-kośa is written in the form of metrical stanzas which give meanings together with the genders of all the uṇādi-words. The title 'Nijavinoda' given by him to his work shows that the work was written without any great effort. He adopts the Pañcapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras. He bases his work on the commentary of Ujjvaladatta. He endeavours to deal with those words which are not enjoined by the sūtras but which are given by Ujjvaladatta in his commentary. He has also made use of the famous lexicons in preparing this work.

The work is not so extensive as the Auṇādika Padārṇava of Perusūri which deals with the sūtras elaborately and adopts an elaborate plan which includes a critical examination of the sūtras, both genuine and interpolated. But the present work is a pure lexicon. Whenever the author comes across textual variations, he records all the possible different derivations if he thinks it proper. The uṇādi-word 'carṣaṇi'¹ is allowed by the Daśapādī whereas Ujjvaladatta accepts 'dharṣaṇi'² in lieu thereof. Similar is the case with other words 'vithura',³ and 'vidhura'.⁴ The former is accepted by Ujjvaladatta and the latter by the Daśapādī. Mahādeva incorporates both the words into the body of his lexicon.⁵ The inclusion of the doubtful words allowed by textual variations is not without cautiousness either. Where he is clear, he clinches the issue. By the uṇādi-sūtra 'āpaḥ karmākhyāyām hrasvo nuṭ ca vā', Ujjvaladatta forms the word 'apta'. This word exists neither in the Vedic Saṁhitas nor in classical literature.⁶ The correct derivation is 'apna' which is seen in the Daśapādī.⁷ Mahādeva does not include 'apta' but he accepts the genuine word 'apna' in an unbiased manner.⁸

1. अथो चर्षणिजने धर्षणिवृषबन्धक्योः। U.K.M., p. 47.
2. कृषेरादेश चः। U.S.U., II-105.
कृषेरादेश चः। D.P., I-4.
3. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं किञ्च। U.S.U., I-40.
4. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणे धः किञ्च। D.P., VIII-22.
5. U.K.M., p.7. See also p. 4, 65, 53, 54, 104, etc.
6. U.K.M., Intro., p. vi.
7. D.P., IX-68.
8. U.K.M., p.107.

The work is not altogether free from shortcomings. The important uṇādi-words such as 'rudra', 'yoṣit' etc. have not been included in this lexicon.

As regards the meanings of the words, the Uṇādi-kośa does not prove to be of much help at several doubtful places. For instance Mahādeva gives the meanings of the word 'amati' as 'time' and 'the moon'. No usage is known in either of the senses. It has been used in the Vedas in the sense of lustre and also as an adjective in the sense of 'poor'.¹ Such words as cannot be known without the aid of usage do occur in the present lexicon.² The shortcomings of this sort are rare and as such they do not affect the usefulness of the Kośa as a valuable guide for the study of the uṇādi-sūtras. Moreover, perfection cannot be achieved in the field of lexicography.

The Auṇādika Padārṇava of Perusūri

Introduction : Perusūri informs us of his identity in his Auṇādika Padārṇava. Both of his parents bore the same name, Veṅkateśvara. He was a native of Kancipur.³ He was a pupil of Vāsudevādhvarin who was the author of the Bālaṃanoramā which is generally placed between 1693 and 1740 A.D.⁴ Cintamani says⁵ that if we assume that he was a pupil of Vasudevādhavarin, his date may be put with a fair amount of certainty, in the beginning of the 18th century. But there are certain other difficulties in the way. Among the works and authors mentioned by Perusūri, we do not find anyone that is later than 1400 A.D. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that Perusūri lived between 1350 and 1600 A.D. The latter is the probable date of Bhaṭṭoji. The points of similarity between the commentary of Perusūri and that of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita

on the uṇādi-portion of the Kaumudī are many and one can certainly assert that one or the other of the two had occasion to look into the work of the other.¹ If Vasudevādhvarin were the same as the author of the Bālaṃanoramā, Perusūri is certainly indebted to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

Assessment : This big lyrical commentary is written on the Pañcapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras. The author of the commentary pays due attention to deciding the doubtful genders.² He furnishes a lucid and analytical examination of the difficult sūtras. He also enumerates various readings of the uṇādi-sūtras. Whenever he finds the grammatical process of the word difficult, he successfully resolves all the intricacies. He quotes the sūtras from the Aṣṭādhyāyī extensively for this purpose. The approach of the author seems to be extremely ambitious. Like Ujjvaladatta he also gives secondary derivatives of the uṇādi-words. Though he has taken much help from the Prauḍha Manoramā, yet he does not mention it.³ If it is the case, there is seemingly nothing remarkable in this work except the metrical garb he covers it with.

If we compare the Kośa of Mahādeva with this work, many points of similarity come on the surface. K. Raja says that Mahādeva has borrowed from the Auṇādika Padārṇava, and therefore he must be placed between Ujjvaladatta and Mahādeva.⁴

Perusūri himself says that his work is a critical edition of the uṇādi-sūtras, pointing out textual variations, and discussing which sūtras form the part of the text and which sūtras have been misunderstood as later accretions.⁵ He also presents the opinions of others. When he sees that difference is very unwieldy, he

1. U.K.M., Intro., p. viii.

2. Ibid., p.84, see also pages 84, 72, 85, etc.

3. जरत्कारू इवान्योन्यमाख्यानन्ययोत्सुकौ ।

श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरौ मातापितरौ संश्रये श्रियै ॥

श्रीकाञ्चीनगरावासामाकाङ्क्षितफलप्रदाम् ।

कामारिप्रेयसीं शशवत्कामाक्षीं कलयामहे ॥ A.P., p.1.

4. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 195.

5. A.P., Intro., p. xv.

1. Cf. त्रो रश्च लः । त्र इति तरतेः षष्ठ्या निर्देशः केचित्तु त्रोरिति छित्वा ऋधातोरपि प्रश्लेषाद् इयति अयते वा आलुशाक-विशेषघटी चेत्याहुः । P.M., 748.

तालु स्यात्काकुदे क्लीबे त्प्रश्लेषमते त्विह । सिध्यत्यालुशशाकभेदे घट्ट्यामप्येष कथ्यते । A.P., p.11. Other views on textual variations are also similar.

2. A.P., p.1.

3. Itihāsa, Vol. II, p.196.

4. U.K.M., Intro., p. xv.

5. प्रक्षिप्तसूत्रत्यागश्च क्लिष्टसूत्रार्थवर्णनम् ।

तत्पाठभेदकथनं सन्दिग्धप्रक्रियाकथा ॥ A.P., p.2.

desperately suggests that the traditional text of the uṇādi-sūtras should be followed. At the end of the first chapter, he draws our attention to the different readings and discrepancies in the first chapter.¹ Here he takes to prosaic style to express his views. He seems to have preference for secondary derivations also. On the very first sūtra, when he derives 'kāru', he enlists its thirty-two secondary derivations for which he does come out with an apology in the beginning of his work.²

The work is a useful aid in studying the uṇādi-sūtras. It is undoubtedly an ocean of information about the uṇādi-sūtras. Unfortunately the work has not been traced in full. It does not go beyond the 465th śloka of the fourth chapter. Had it been traced in full, it would have provided very comprehensive information about the uṇādi literature. Each and every sūtra has been taken up in a sincere and confident manner. His analysis of intricate sūtras is superb. His approach is straight and clear. Every relevant source of the uṇādi-sūtras seems to have been exhausted by him. In short, it is a small encyclopaedia of the uṇādi-sūtras.

The Uṇādi-kośa of Dayānanda Sarasvatī

Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī was a staunch revivalist of the old Vedic culture. He was born in a Brahmin family in Kathiawar in 1824 A.D. He wrote about 50 books between 1874-1883 A.D. The Satyārtha Prakāśa, Saṁskāravidhi, Ṛgvedādibhāṣya-bhūmikā, Ṛgvedabhāṣya are important among them. He also wrote a commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, which is not available in full. Besides it, he wrote separate small treatises under the titles Nāmika, Sāmāsika, etc. in which he adopted the prakriyā method. The Uṇādi-kośa is the twelfth of these small treatises. It

is a valuable commentary on the Pañcapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras. The title of the work seems to kill two birds with one stone. It gives simple meaning of the sūtras and also presents exhaustive etymological explanations of each and every uṇādi-word.

In the beginning the author tells us that all the words come in sequence to the sūtra Pa. 3.3.1. He also praises the old lineage of Indian seers and authors saying that the seers enunciated the system of grammar for our convenience as the number of words is too large to be enjoined by grammatical regulations.¹

The Uṇādi-kośa contains 751 uṇādi-sūtras in all divided into five chapters. (Chapter I-159, chapter II-123, chapter III-160, chapter IV-239 and chapter V-70). He appends to it an alphabetical list of about 2196 words.

Assessment : This Uṇādi-kośa is more a lexicon than a commentary. The analytical explanation of the sūtras is absent in it. The main feature of this commentary consists in enlisting the meanings of the uṇādi-words with the help of verbal forms. The author has added certain new meanings to the roots totally in the light of the Vedic usage. Unlike others he means by 'vāyu' both 'wind' and 'God'. He explains that the root $\sqrt{vā}$ has two meanings 'to go' and 'to know'. In the former case it will denote 'wind' and in the latter, 'God'.² The author stresses the semantic aspect of the uṇādi-words by giving etymologies of each and every uṇādi-word. In this respect the author seems to have utilised his long experience of Vedic studies.

The more specific utility of this work lies in giving both derivative and conventionally settled meanings of the uṇādi-words.³ In this regard he has excelled the preceding commentators.

1. अस्मिन्पादे "सप्यशूभ्यां तुट् च" इत्यनन्तरं "नुदंशोर्गुणश्च" इति, "सहेः षष् लुक् च" इति च सूत्रद्वयं नवन्, दशन्, षष् इति शब्दव्युत्पादकमुज्ज्वलदत्तेन व्याख्यातम्। एवं 'मृजेश्च' इत्यनन्तरम् "खण्डेश्च" इति सूत्रम्। एवमन्यैरपि तैस्तैः वृत्तिकारैः कानिचित् सूत्राणि अधिकानि व्याख्यातानि। सूत्रक्रमभेदश्च भूयान् परिदृश्यते पाठभेदाश्च भूयांसः इति सांप्रदायिक एव आश्रित इत्यलं बहुना। A.P., p.80.
2. प्रसङ्गात्क्वचिदन्येषामपि संस्पर्शशालिनाम्। व्युत्पादनमिह प्रायः क्रियते धीविविक्तये॥ Ibid., p.1.

1. U.K.D., Intro., p.3.
2. वाति गच्छति जानाति वेति वायुः पवनः परमेश्वरो वा। Ibid., Intro., p.1.
3. करोतीति कारुः कर्त्ता शिल्पी वा। Ibid., I - 1.
यः क्रियते यया करोति वेति क्रतुः प्रज्ञा यज्ञो वा। Ibid., I-76.
पाति रक्षति स पायुः रक्षकः, गुदेन्द्रियं वा। Ibid., I -1.
ईषति गच्छति हिनस्ति वा शत्रून् इषुः बाणो वीरो वा। Ibid., I-13.
प्रेम्णा बध्नाति बन्धुः सज्जनो वा। Ibid., I -10.
असुं प्राणं राति ददात्यसुरो मेघः। Ibid., I -10

contd.....

The Daśapādyuṇādivṛtti of Māṇikyadeva

Introduction : The commentaries on the Daśapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras seem to be inferior in all respects to those on the Pañcapādī. This commentary written by Māṇikyadeva¹ is the oldest of all the commentaries on the uṇādi-sūtras. It must have been written in 7th century A.D. as the Kāśikā alludes to this commentary in the context of the sūtra Pa. 6.2.48.² This commentary is important in many respects.

Assessment : (1) It gives all the roots from which the uṇādi-words have been derived. It is also very particular about the implication of the case-endings applied in the process of deriving words. This is, indeed, an important aspect to tell which 'kāraṅkas' (case-endings) are to be used to give an adequate connotative function of the words formed, because the loose characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras often confuse this aspect at many places.³

(2) Many roots which we do not find in the Pāṇinīya-dhātu-pāṭha are given in this commentary.⁴ The roots $\sqrt{\text{dhu}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{kr}}$ have been shown belonging to the bhvādigaṇa, while we do not find them in the Dhātu-pāṭha of Pāṇini.

हन्यतेऽनेनेति हनुः कपोलावयवः प्रहरणं मृत्युर्वा। U.K.D., I-10.

मन्यते चराचरं जगज्जानाति इति मनुः ईश्वरः ; मनुतेऽवबुध्यते शास्त्रमिति मनुर्विद्वान् राजर्षिः। Ibid., I-10.

तन्यन्ते कर्माण्यनेनेति तनुः शरीरं स्वल्पं वा। Ibid., I-7.

गण्डति स गण्डुः वदनैकदेशः, उपधानम् तक्रिया इति प्रसिद्धं चैलं वा। Ibid., I-7.

1. Vide N.C.C., Vol. II, p. 295.

2. Cf. आङ्गि श्रिहनिभ्यां हस्वश्चेति अहिरन्तोदात्तो व्युत्पादितः। केचित् आद्युदात्तमिच्छन्ति। Ka. on 6-2-48.

आङ्गियुपपदे श्रिहनि-इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यामिण् प्रत्ययो भवति ङिच्च हस्वश्च पूर्वपदस्य चोदात्तः। D.P. I-66. See also KN. p. 252.

3. शृणाति शरुः - क्रोधः। कर्ता। D.P. I-95.

स्कन्दन्त्यस्मिन् यक्षजातयः इति कन्दुः भोगस्थानम्। अधिकरणम्। Ibid., I-96.

4. धु कम्पने सौ० क्रे०, धू विघ्नने भौ०। Ibid., III-5.

कृ करणे भौ०। करोति कृणोति करतिवा। Ibid., I-86

(3) Many other commentators have been referred to in this commentary.¹ This shows the time-honoured significance of the uṇādi-sūtras.

(4) Some ślokaś from very old lexicons are found in this commentary. These lexicons had the compilation of Vedic words also.²

He does not go into the details of grammatical intricacies and maintains simplicity and clarity throughout. He, too, gives etymological explanations.³ If we compare this commentary with that of Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the latter seems to be an improved version of the former.

The Prasāda of Viṭṭhalārya

Rāmacandra, the author of the Prakriyā Kaumudī gives only 10 uṇādi-sūtras. Viṭṭhalārya (1525)⁴ who wrote the 'Prasāda' on the Prakriyā Kaumudī, included the Daśapādī in his commentary.

Brief Account : He begins with the kārikā of Patañjali. Though the commentary is concise, yet it takes note of textual variations.⁵ If we compare it with other commentaries, we come to the conclusion that it has nothing new in it. The author simply gives conjugated roots to give an etymological semblance to the meanings of the uṇādi-words. There are many intricate problems which he has left unexplained. The author lacks the profundity of Ujjvaladatta, Śvetavanavāsin, and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita who never forego the opportunity that allows them to go into grammatical details. Consequently we can say that this commentary is not of much significance, when compared with those of his predecessors.

1. D.P. I-90, VI-19, VII-12, VIII-46, VIII-122, etc.

2. शशाङ्के भास्करे चैव वायावग्नौ प्रजापतौ।

इन्द्रे मनोरथे प्रश्ने तरसानं स्मरेद् बुधः॥ Ibid., V-29.

जीवेऽग्नौ भास्करे चैव शशाङ्के हंसके तथा।

मन्दसानं स्मरेद् धीमान् स्वरे च पञ्चके स्थितम्॥ Ibid., V-30.

3. उनत्ति तेजसा चक्षुर्मनांसि इति इन्दुः। Ibid., I-97.

अस्यन्ति कलेवरमिति असवः प्राणाः। Ibid., I-95, etc.

4. Systems, p.45.

5. केचिदयं न पठन्ति नोदाहरन्ति च।

केचित् स्तु इति दीर्घं पठन्ति। Prasāda on P.K., Vol. II, p.603.

Manuscript – A

Assessment : This is an anonymous commentary on the Daśapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras, as it resembles the Daśapādī in the arrangement of the sūtras. So far as the elaboration and analysis of the uṇādi-sūtras are concerned, it gives a poor show. It is available only upto the 45th sūtra of the ninth chapter. Unlike other commentaries, it proves the genuineness of the word 'dhīna'.¹ There are neither benedictory stanzas in the beginning, nor any remarks at the end.

Conclusion

The commentaries on the uṇādi-sūtras are fruitful from investigation point of view. They throw a flood of light on the nature, characteristics, textual variations of the uṇādi-sūtras. We can also assess with their help the linguistic importance of these sūtras. In one or two commentaries semantics has been accorded due treatment.

4

Part-I

TEXTUAL VARIATIONS

The character of the uṇādi-sūtras is replete with flexibilities. Their loose characteristics have rendered them vulnerable to changes and interpolations. Each and every commentator has introduced some variations of his own.

Nature :

(1) Some textual variations in the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras are not of a serious nature, as they do not affect the uṇādi derivations. These variations relate to exchange of places of some roots or affixes,¹ addition or omission of some roots in the sūtras² and some other slightly different form of the roots.³

(2) The variations in the anubandhas pose a serious problem, as the anubandhas which regulate accentuation and some important grammatical modifications have been meddled with freely.⁴

(3) Addition or omission of some sūtras is also found.⁵

(4) The uṇādi-sūtras which prescribe the irregular formations also contain some additions and omissions.⁶

1. Cf. U.S.U. I-1, U.S.S. I-1 and U.S.U. I-1.

For full detail see the list of textual variations in the second part of this chapter.

2. Cf. U.S.U. II-40 U.S.S. II-42 and U.S.N. II-39.

3. Cf. U.S.U. I-31, U.S.S. I-30 and D.P. I-115.

4. Cf. U.S.U. I-53, and U.S.N. I-51.

5. U.S.S. V.55 is omitted in the U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P. U.S.U. V-13 is omitted in the U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P. For full detail see the second part.

6. Cf. U.S.U. II-96, A.P. II-96, U.S.S. II-96, D.P. II-3.

1. धेट ई च। धेटो न ई चान्तादेशः। धयन्ति तामिति धीना। सरस्वती माता। MS. V-45, p.49.

(5) The uṇādi-sūtras similar in form enjoin different uṇādi-words on account of these variations.¹

The commentators on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras have noticed these variations and offered their own suggestions for the correct reading of the sūtras. In this respect the Prauḍha Manoramā and the Auṇādika Padārṇava are very significant. They have devoted a considerable amount of discussion to these textual variations. Generally three methods, namely (1) rules of accent, (2) usage and (3) observations contained in other grammatical treatises – have been adopted in deciding the readings of the sūtras.

The first part of this chapter deals with the principal textual variations. The second part contains the list of all the variations that occur in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. We shall discuss below the important variations chapterwise following the Pañcapādī recension of the uṇādi-sūtras :

U.S.U. I-40.² The sūtra is very controversial. The Daśapādī enjoins that 'thakāra' should be substituted by 'dhakāra'.³ Śvetavanavāsin and Nārāyaṇa follow the Daśapādī. Perusūri following the Daśapādī reads 'vyadha' as a root in the sūtra.⁴ Ujjvaladatta and Bhaṭṭoji give the word so derived as 'vithura' while others give as 'vidhura'. The latter is not genuine according to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,⁵ as the former word is frequently found in the Vedic literature. He contends: whatever Mādhava says in this respect is not tenable, as the word 'vithura' cannot be derived with

1. Cf. U.S.U. II-105, U.S.S. II-105, U.S.Sk. II-104, D.P. I-4.

2. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं किच्च।

3. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं धः किच्च। D.P., VIII-22.

4. व्यथः सम्प्रसारणं किच्च। A.P., I-37.

5. दशपाद्यां तु धः किच्चेति पठित्वा धकारान्तादेशं विधाय विधुरोऽनग्निक इत्युदाहृतं माधवेनापि तदेवानुसृतम्। न त्वेतद् युक्तम्। 'त्वमेषां विधुरा शवांसि' (Rg., 6. 25.3) 'अतिविद्धा विधुरेणाचिदस्मा' (Rg., 8.96.2.) इत्यादिमन्त्रेषु धकारपाठस्य निर्विवादत्वात्। यदपि माधवेनोक्तं 'विदिभिदि' इत्यत्र 'व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं च' इति वचनात् कुरचि थान्तं रूपमिति तदतिस्थवीयः। कुरज्विधायके सूत्रे व्यथेरुपसंख्यानस्याप्रसिद्धत्वात्। तस्मादिह 'धः किच्च' इति दशपादीपाठं पुरस्कृन्तः प्रसादकारादयोऽप्युपेक्ष्याः। कथं तर्हि विधुर इति प्रयोगस्य निर्वाहः इति चेत् धुरो विगत इति प्रादिसमासेनेत्यवधेहि। 'समासान्तः' इति सूत्रे वृत्तिपदमञ्जुर्योस्तथैवोक्तत्वात्। P.M. pp. 751-752.

the affix 'kurac' because it is never prescribed by the vārttika of Kātyāyana. And as the word 'vidhura' can be formed as a 'prādisamāsa', the reading given by the D.P., U.S.S. and U.S.N. does not seem to be correct.

U.S.U. I-63.¹ The sūtra reads the affix with 'cakāra' as an anubandha, which makes the word 'kapota' obtain accent on the last syllable.² Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita says that the anubandha is discrepant as the word is found accented on the middle in the Ṛgveda.³ Moreover this sūtra is grouped with six other sūtras which are not approved of by others.⁴

U.S.U. I-67.⁵ This sūtra also has various readings. Ujjvaladatta reads the affix as having an indicatory 'cakāra' at the end. Dīkṣita reads 'kolac', and Śvetavanavāsin and Nārāyaṇa as 'olak'. The Daśapādī reads it purely as 'ola' which seems to be correct. Mīmāṃsaka also says that the words 'kapola', etc. are accented on the middle by the Phit-sūtra 42.⁶

U.S.U. I-116. The sūtra reads the affix with the anubandha 'ña' at the end. Mādhava differs from Ujjvaladatta when he says that the affix is 'ālan' and the operation of the lengthening of the penultimate 'a' of the root 'pat' is accounted for by the characteristic 'bāhulakam'.⁷ He justifies his stand by giving an example with regard to the word 'caṇḍāla'. It is criticised by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita⁸ who endorses the reading given by Ujjvaladatta.

1. कबरोतच् पश्च।

2. चितः। Pa. 6.1.163.

3. अत्रौतचश्चित्वं प्रामादिकम्। P.M., p. 753.

See also : अयमुते समेतसि कुपोतं इव गर्भधिमृ। Rg., I. 30.4.

4. गुपादिसूत्रादारभ्य एतदन्तानि सप्तसूत्राणि केषांचिदसंमतानि। P.M., p.753.

5. कपिगडिगण्डिकटिपटिभ्य ओलच्।

6. उभयमपि नेष्टम्। कपोलादिशब्दानां मध्योदात्तस्य इष्टत्वात्। तथाहि फिट्सूत्रम् 'लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वो गुरुः' (४२) इत्यनेनाव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे मध्योदात्तस्वरस्य विधानात्। D.P., p. 355, footnote.

7. 'पतिचण्डाभ्यामालन्' इत्यालन्, बाहुलकाद् वृद्धिः। M.D., p.210.

8. यत्तु माधवग्रन्थे पतिचण्डिभ्यामालन्निति पठित्वा पातालशब्दे बाहुलकाद् वृद्धिमुक्त्वा आलञ् इति वृद्धयर्थम् जितं केचित् पठन्ति इत्युपन्यस्य चण्डालशब्देऽपि वृद्धिः स्यात् इति दूषितम्। तदतिरभसात्। एके इत्यपरितोषोद्भावनम्। तद्विजन्तु कुलावरुडक-मार्गनिषादचण्डालमित्रमित्रेभ्यश्छन्दसि इति चण्डात्स्वार्थे अणं विदधता वार्तिकेन तद्भाष्येण च विरोध इति बोध्यम्। P.M., 759.

U.S.U. I-158.¹ Ujjvaladatta and Nārāyaṇa read 'parijvan' while others read 'parijman'. Ujjvaladatta has got to trace a sautra root for the uṇādi-word which he gives as an example. Dīkṣita and Perusūri say that it should not be given any consideration.² The Daśapādī does not read 'iti' at the end. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita says that it should be read as it allows other similar forms.³ It sounds reasonable. There is one more thing about the sūtra to be clarified, that is, Ujjvaladatta and some other commentators derive all words with the affix 'kanin' which incurs the accent on the first syllable. Jñānendrasarasvatī says that it is quite tedious a way to arrive at the desired accent by virtue of 'bāhulakam', which we can apply in the case of the word 'pūṣan', as it is so given in the Kāśikā.⁴

U.S.U. II-105.⁵ This sūtra enunciates the word 'dharṣaṇi'. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita says that if 'dharṣaṇi' had been the desired word to be formed by the sūtra, the sūtra would have been as 'dhr̥ṣeḥ' only. But Mahādevavedāntin incorporates both the words 'dharṣaṇi' and 'carṣaṇi'. The latter is accepted by Perusūri, Śvetavanavāsin, Nārāyaṇa, Dīkṣita and Māṇikyadeva.⁶ When we find both the words current in usage,⁷ it seems somewhat difficult to decide

which reading is appropriate. It is famous that the grammarians love brevity. When the sūtra in the form of 'dhr̥ṣeḥ' can deliver the goods, what is the sense in accepting the reading given by Ujjvaladatta? So the reading given by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Perusūri, Nārāyaṇa, Śvetavanavāsin and Māṇikyadeva seems to be correct.

U.S.U. III-22.² The sūtra has long 'ū' at the end in the uṇādi-khaṇḍa of Nārāyaṇa.³ In the Vyutpattisāra, we find both the affixes 'ayu' and 'ayū'.⁴ Both the words 'Sarayu' and 'Sarayū' mean one and the same river. In case we derive the word with a long vowel at the end, how can we have the formation with a short 'u'? On the contrary if we accept the sūtra which enjoins the formation with a short 'u', we can have the formation 'sarayū' by the sūtra Pa. 4.1.66⁵ with the help of the vārttika 'aprāñijāteśca'. Ujjvaladatta⁶ and Śvetavanavāsin⁷ endorse this stand. In this condition we had better accept either the reading with a short 'u' or the reading of the Vyutpattisāra which enjoins both the formations so that both the words may become grammatical.

U.S.U. III-25.⁸ Ujjvaladatta says that this sūtra is 'anārṣa' as it is not found in the Sūtivṛtti.⁹ Other commentators also differ on the reading of the sūtra. Śvetavanavāsin¹⁰ reads short 'u' and derives the word 'stūpa' by virtue of the anuvṛtti of the term 'dīrgha' from the sūtra (U.S.S. III-24). Mādhava¹¹ also approves

1. श्वन्-अक्षन्-पूषन्-प्लोहन्-क्लेदन्-स्नेहन्-मूर्धन्-मज्जन्-अर्यमन्-विशप्सन्-परिज्वन्-मातरिश्वन्-मघवन्निति।
2. उज्ज्वलदत्तस्तु परिज्वेति पठित्वा जु इति सौत्रो धातुः परिपूर्वः यणादेशः परिज्वा चन्द्र इत्याह। तल्लक्ष्यविरोधादुपेक्ष्यम्। P.M., 763.
See also केचित् तुजोर्यणादेशो परिज्वेति बभाषिरे।
न तत्साधु यतो लक्ष्यविरोधः सर्वतः स्फुटः॥ A.P., I-151.
3. दशपाद्यां तु इति शब्दो न पठ्यते इह सूत्रान्त इति शब्द आद्यर्थः। तेनान्येभ्योऽपि यथादर्शनङ्कनिः। P.M., 763.
4. पूषान्तोदात्तो निपात्यते। Ka., 6.2.142.
And see also केचित् तु नित्वं स्वीकृत्य उक्षन्नादीनां सूत्रे अन्तोदात्तनिपातनमाहुः। तच्च गौरवग्रस्तादुपेक्ष्यम्। T.B.U., I-157.
5. कृषेरादेशच धः।
6. कृषेरादेशच चः। A.P., 105, U.S.S. II-105, U.S.N. II-103, U.S.Sk. II-104 and D.P. I-4.
7. अथो चर्षणिजने। धर्षणि वृषबन्धक्योः। U.K., sl. 307.

1. तथा सति धृषेरित्येव सूत्रयेत्। प्रागल्भ्यरूपावयवार्थानुगमात्। 'आदेशच ध' इत्यंशस्य त्यागेन लाघवाच्च। P.M., p. 772.
2. सत्तेरयुः। Also A.P. III-22, U.S.S. III-22, U.S.Sk. III-22 and D.P. I-136.
3. सत्तेरयुः। U.S.N., III-22.
4. सरतेरयू। 'अत्र अयु-अयू इति पदच्छेदः। अयू इति सांकेतिकप्रथमा।' MS. (B), p.96.
5. ऊङुतः।
6. U.S.U. III-22.
7. 'अप्राणिजातेश्च' इत्यूङ्प्रत्ययः। सरयूनदीविशेषः। Ibid., III-22.
8. स्तुवो दीर्घश्च। Also cf. A.P., III-25, U.S.Sk., III-25 and D.P., VII-4.
9. एतत्सूत्रं स्तुतिवृत्तौ न दृश्यते। सर्वस्वे तु ष्टुप समुच्छ्राय इत्यस्मात् घञि स्तूप इति साधितम्। अतोऽनार्षमिदमिति लक्ष्यते।
10. स्तयः सम्प्रसारणमुश्च। U.S.S., III-25.
11. M.D., p. 441.

of the formation 'stūpa' after reading short 'u' in the sūtra. But Nārāyaṇa¹ reads long vowel and arrives at the desired formation without any difficulty. The word 'stūpa'² is accented on the last vowel in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa etc., while the word 'stūpa' is accented on the first syllable in the Ṛgveda.³ It means that both the words are quite different from each other. Bhaṭṭabhāskara says that 'stūpa' is accented on the beginning as it belongs to the vṛṣādigaṇa.⁴ So the view of Ujjvaladatta seems to hold good and his reading of the sūtra should be preferred.

U.S.U. III-30.⁵ Ujjvaladatta reads the affix as 'ktnu', while Māṇikyadeva, Śvetavanavāsin, and Nārāyaṇa read it as 'knu',⁶ and derive the words 'krṇu', 'hanu' etc. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita takes objection to the word 'krṇu' and rejects the reading as given in the Daśapādī. He quotes several mantras from the Ṛgveda to justify his own view on the sūtra under consideration. After a long discussion, he succeeds in getting across his purpose.⁷

U.S.U. III-70.⁸ It seems proper, here, to say something about the anubandhas in general. It is right that by the use of the anubandhas Pāṇini has compressed the vast topic of accentuation into the shortest possible space. Pāṇini has given no definition of the anubandha. He has preferred the shorter term 'it' to signify

it and has used it, as if it were quite well understood in his time. It is quite clear from the references of Patañjali¹ that the term was brought into vogue by some predecessors of Pāṇini. Pāṇini seems to have used the anubandhas of his predecessors. But it has to be taken note of that the anubandhas, as used by the predecessors of Pāṇini, are not always made to serve the purposes that they are meant to serve in Pāṇini's system.

Now take the sūtra under consideration. Ujjvaladatta, Śvetavanavāsin, Nārāyaṇa and Māṇikyadeva read the affix 'nit', while Perusūri and Dīkṣita read it without the indicatory letter 'nakāra'. Dīkṣita discusses the reading in a lucid manner. He says that if the affix be 'nit', the word 'akṣara' would be accented on the first syllable. But it is accented on the middle in the Vedas, which is only possible when we read the affix without 'nakāra' as an anubandha. Then the accent of the affix (pratyayasvara) will be applicable in the case of the word 'akṣara'. Dīkṣita also quotes Patañjali in support of his own stand.² He seems to have erred in this respect, because Patañjali himself says that the affix is 'saran'³ but that it has been used without the anubandha by the Vārttikakāra. Kaiyaṭa also upholds it.⁴ It seems plausible to accept the reading of Ujjvaladatta as it conforms to that given by Patañjali. So far as the accent of the word is concerned, it may be accounted for by the characteristic 'bahulam'.

U.S.U. III-91.⁵ This sūtra is very controversial. Ujjvaladatta

1. पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेषु च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते। MBH. on Pa. 7.1.18 and see also Kaiyaṭa. MBH. 6-4-141.
2. उज्ज्वलदत्तादयस्तु 'अशेः सरन्' इति पेटुः। तन्ना। नित्स्वरपतेः। इष्यते प्रत्ययस्वरेणाक्षरशब्दस्य मध्योदात्तत्वम्। 'ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन्' (ऋ० १।१६४।३९) 'अक्षरेण मिमते सप्तवाणी' (ऋ० १।१६४।२४) इत्याद्युङ्मन्त्रेषु, 'त्रीणि च शतानि षष्टिश्चाक्षराणि' इति यजुषि च तथैव पाठात्। अत एव द्वितीयाहिकान्ते 'अशोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्' इति भाष्यकृतोक्तम्। P.M., p. 779.
3. अशोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन्प्रत्ययः। MBH. on the pratyāhāra sūtras : जमङणनम् and झभञ्
4. सरन्प्रत्ययस्यानुबन्धलोपे कृतेऽनुकरणं-सर इति। Kaiyaṭa on ibid.
5. जेर्मूट् चोदात्तः। Cf. also A.P., III-91 and U.S.Sk., III-91.

1. स्त्यः सम्प्रसारणमूश्च। U.S.N., III-25.

2. D.P. ed. Mīmāṃsaka, p. 261, footnote 2.

3. स्तूपं ददते पूतदक्षः। Ṛg., I. 24.7.

4. D.P. ed. Mīmāṃsaka, p. 261, footnote 2.

5. कृहनिभ्यां क्तुः। U.S.U., III-30, A.P. III-30, U.S.Sk. III-30.

6. कृहनिभ्यां क्तुः। U.S.S., III-30, U.S.N., III-30, D.P., I-141.

7. दशपादीवृत्तौ तु 'क्तुः' इति तकाररहितं पठित्वा 'कृणु कर्ता हनुर्वक्त्रैकदेशः, बाहुलकान्नलोपः। गमेस्तु जिगनुः' इत्युदाहृतम्। तत्सर्वं प्रामादिकं लक्ष्यविसंवादात्। तथा च श्रूयते - सुरूपकृतुमूर्तये (ऋ० १।४।१) ज्येष्ठराजं भरे कृतुम् (ऋ० ८।१६।३) अयं कृतुर्भिगृभीतः (ऋ० ८।७९।१) मा नो वधाय हत्ववे (ऋ० १।२५।२) मृगं न भीम उपहलनुमुग्रम् (ऋ० २।३३।१) यो नः सनुत्य उत वा जिगलुः (ऋ० २।३०।१) इत्यादि। अतएव हन्तिधातुं विवृण्वता माधवेन 'उपहलु' इत्युदाहृत्य कित्वादनुनासिकलोपः इत्युक्तम्। यत्तु तेनैव सुरूपकृतुम् (ऋ० १।४।१) इति मन्त्रे विवृण्वता तकारोपजनशब्दान्दस इत्युक्तम्, तदशपादीवृत्तिमनुसृत्य, न तु वस्तुस्थितिमनुसृत्येति सहदयैराकलनीयम् इति। P.M., p. 775.

8. अशेः सरन्। Also U.S.S. III-67, U.S.N. III-70, and D.P. VIII-50.

says that this sūtra is 'anārṣa' according to Puruṣottamadeva, as the word 'jīmūta' belongs to the 'pṛṣodarādi' class and can grammatically be justified thereby. Now the question arises : If the uṇādi-sūtras enjoin the formation of those words that belong to some 'gaṇa', should they be termed 'anārṣa' ?¹ What will become of the maxim which means that the nominal stems have varied ways of derivation and which consequently seems to justify the genuineness of this sūtra.

Śvetavanvāsin does not include this sūtra in his commentary. Māṇikyadeva and Nārāyaṇa read the augment 'muṭ'², while Ujjvaladatta, Perusūri and Dīkṣita read it as 'mūṭ'. Those who read the augment with a short vowel justify both the long vowels by virtue of the anuvṛtti of the term 'dīrgha' from the preceding sūtra to the sūtra under consideration. The anuvṛtti of 'dīrgha' is due, but its function seems to be exhausted in lengthening the short 'i' of the root 'ji'. So the reading given by Ujjvaladatta, Perusūri and Dīkṣita seems to be right, as 'mūṭ' will not require the term 'dīrgha'.

U.S.U. III-97.³ Except Dīkṣita and Perusūri,⁴ all other commentators follow the reading of Ujjvaladatta. Dīkṣita⁵ does not approve of the reading of Ujjvaladatta, saying that it goes against the Vedic usage and also against Sāyaṇa's comments upon it. The view of Dīkṣita does not seem to be tenable, as Sāyaṇa says that this word 'didhiṣāyya' is irregularly formed with the affix 'sāyya', while the affix 'āyya' is due in the sūtra under consideration.⁶

1. जीवनं जलं मूत्रयति स्रवयतीति पृषोदरादित्वात्सिद्धेरनार्षमिदं सूत्रमिति पुरुषोत्तमदेवः। U.S.U., III-91
2. जेमुट्चोदात्तः। U.S.N., III-92, D.P., VI-11.
3. दधिषाय्यः। also U.S.N. III-97, U.S.S. III-91 and D.P. VIII-2.
4. दिधिषाय्यः। A.P. III-97 and U.S.Sk. III-97.
5. उज्ज्वलदत्तस्तु 'दधिषाय्यः' इति सूत्रे पठित्वा दधिपूर्वात् स्यतेराय्यः षत्वं च दधिषाय्यो घृतमिति व्याख्यत। दशपादीवृत्तिकारस्तु दधिशब्दस्य द्वित्वं गुणाभावोऽत्वं चाभ्यासस्य निपात्यत इत्याह। प्रसादकारादयोऽप्येवमेव प्रतिपन्नाः। तदेतत् सर्वं लक्ष्यविरोधाद् वेदभाष्यविरोधाच्चोपेक्ष्यम्। P.M., p. 782.
6. दधातेः 'दधिषाय्यः' इति साय्यप्रत्ययान्तो निपात्यते। Sāyaṇa on Rg., I. 73.2.

Consequently it does not seem to be reasonable on the part of Dīkṣita to justify his reading without a proper examination of the views of those whom he generally quotes in his support. Mīmāṃsaka¹ also says that the reading of Ujjvaladatta seems to be correct. Moreover, Nārāyaṇa, Śvetavanavāsin Māṇikyadeva, Bhojadeva etc. approve of it.

U.S.U. III-99.² Ujjvaladatta reads the affix as 'keyya'. Dīkṣita, Māṇikyadeva and Perusūri read it as 'kseyya'.³ Śvetavanavāsin and Nārāyaṇabhāṭṭa read the affix as 'kṣeyya'.⁴ Ujjvaladatta gives the uṇādi-word as 'stuveyya' meaning 'purandara'. Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣita says that it is against what we find in the Vedas. Sāyaṇa also explains the word in the same manner as it is given in the Daśapādī, which is approved of by Dīkṣita⁵ also.

U.S.U. III-108.⁶ Except Śvetavanavāsin and Nārāyaṇa, all other commentators give variant readings.⁷ The significant difference in the reading of this sūtra is that of the anubandha 'nakāra', which incurs the accent on the first syllable.⁸ Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣita says that the word 'suvidatra' is found having the accent on the affix (pratyayasvara).⁹ We do not find any other reference to this word

1. D.P. p. 283 footnote 2.
2. स्तुवः केय्यश्छन्दसि।
3. स्तुवः क्सेय्यश्छन्दसि। U.S.K., III-99 and D.P., VIII-4.
4. स्तुवः क्षेय्यश्छन्दसि। U.S.S., III-93, U.S.N., III-99.
5. स्तुषेय्यं स्तोतव्यं बहुरूपमिति वेदभाष्यम् (सायण, ऋ० १०।१२०।६) यत्तूज्ज्वलदत्तेन स्तुवः 'केय्यः' इति पठित्वा कित्वाद् गुणाभाव उवडादेशे स्तुवेय्यः पुरन्दर इत्युक्तम्। तन्न। वेदतद्भाष्यादिविरोधात्। तस्मादिह क्सेय्यप्रत्ययं पठन् दशपादीवृत्तिकृदेव ज्यायान्। P.M., p. 782.
6. सुविदेः कत्रन्।
7. सुविदेः कत्रः। U.S.Sk., III-108.
सौ विदेः कत्रन्। D.P., VIII-59.
संविदेः कत्रन्। A.P., III-108.
सुजि विदेः कत्रन्। U.S.S., III. 101, U.S.N., III-107.
8. Pa. 6.1.197.
9. इह प्रायेण कत्रन्निति नितं पठन्ति तन्नामादिकम्। 'बृहस्पते सुविदत्राणि राध्या' इत्यादौ नित्स्वरादर्शनात्। कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरेण प्रत्ययस्वरस्यैव दर्शनाच्च। P.M., p. 782.

as we find in connection with the uṇādi-word 'akṣara' in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.. So in the absence of other evidences, it seems proper to accept the reading as given by Dīkṣita, though a majority of commentators read the affix as 'nit'. The Vedic usage also endorses the reading as given by Dīkṣita.

U.S.U. III-131.¹ The Daśapādī reads the affix as 'nit',² while others read it without this anubandha. Ujjvaladatta quotes the Pārāyaṇīyam to point out that it is a discrepant reading.³ The affix, being 'nit', will incur accent on the first syllable.⁴ But in the Atharvaveda⁵ the word 'ṛccharā' is found accented on the middle syllable, which is only possible when the affix is not 'nit'. Mīmāṃsaka⁶ also endorses the reading of the affix without the anubandha 'nakāra'.

U.S.U. I-68⁷. This sūtra enjoins the formation of the word 'mayūra'. The Daśapādī reads the affix without the anubandha 'nakāra'.⁸ Nārāyaṇa, here, says that the uṇādi-word 'mayūra' is intended to be accented on the middle but the 'nakāra' as an anubandha debars it and that this is why Bhoja has read the affix as 'ūra'.⁹ When a majority of the commentators have given the reading as given by Ujjvaladatta, how can 'mayūra' be justified to have the accent on the middle syllable? Two solutions can be offered in this regard. One is that the uṇādi-words can be treated of as non-derivative and, then, by the phiṭ sūtra 42¹⁰, the

long 'ū' of the word 'mayūra' can have the accent; the other is that 'ūra' should be accepted in lieu of 'ūran'.

Śvetavanavāsin¹ has dwelt on each and every aspect of this sūtra in detail. When he concludes, he seems to imply that it is all due to the anomalous nature of the uṇādi-sūtras and that the utilisation of both the derivative and non-derivative theories with regard to the aspect of the accentuation of the uṇādi-words, is, however, permissible.

U.S.U. IV-44.² The root enjoined in the sūtra is √ḡ 'to go', which is to be substituted by a long 'ū'. The uṇādi-affix to be appended to it is 'mi'. The word which is derived with the help of this sūtra is 'ūrmi' meaning 'a wave'. Devarāja Yajvā in his commentary on the Nirukta says that some commentators derive the word 'ūrmi' from the root 'ūrṇuṇ' which means 'to cover' and that Kamalanayana reads the sūtra with a short 'u' as substitute.³ Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita⁴ also remarks that the short 'u' is preferable to the long 'ū' as the short 'u' will be lengthened by the sūtra 'hali ca'.⁵

1. ऋच्छेरः। See also A.P., III-130, U.S.S., III-126 U.S.N., III-132, U.S.Sk., III-131.

2. ऋच्छेरन्। D.P., VIII-61.

3. अरन्निति प्रमादः इति पारायणीयम्। U.S.U. III-131.

4. Pa. 6.1.197.

5. ऋच्छरां ये च ते शफाः। Atharvaveda 10.9.23.

6. 'अर' प्रत्यये प्रत्ययस्वरेण मध्योदात्तत्वं सिद्ध्यति, अरन्प्रत्यये नित्वादाद्युदात्तत्वं प्राप्नोति। तस्मात् 'अरः' इत्येव पाठः ज्यायान्। D.P. p. 329, footnote 2.

7. मीनातेरूरन्। Also A.P., I-65, U.S.S., I-67, U.S.N., I-66 and U.S.Sk., I-67.

8. मीनातेरूरः। D.P., VIII-28.

9. मध्योदात्तो मयूरोऽयमिष्टो नित्वान्न सिद्ध्यति।

तस्मादूरान्त एवोक्तो मयूरो भोजभूभुजा। U.S.N., I-66.

10. लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वो गुरुः।

1. अस्यां व्युत्पत्तौ मयूरशब्दः आद्युदात्तः। नित्प्रत्ययान्तत्वात् निति प्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तस्य आद्युदात्तत्वमिष्यते। तथा चोक्तं भाष्यकारेण "सौवर्यः सप्तम्यः तदन्तसप्तम्यः" इति। पृषोदरादिषु यौतेरपि टिलोपः। महीशब्दस्य मयूर इत्यादेशः। मह्यं रैतीति मयूर इति प्रातिपदिकम्। उभयथा व्युत्पत्तौ इष्टस्वरो न सिद्ध्यति। तथाहि - मयूर शब्दो मध्योदात्तो वेदेषु पठ्यते। तस्मात् "जित्यादिर्नित्यम्" इति प्रत्ययमात्रस्याद्युदात्तं वा विधेयम्। "खर्जिपिञ्जादिभ्य ऊरोलचौ" इति खर्ज्यादित्वात् ऊकारो वा विधेयः, स्वरे व्यत्ययो वा कर्तव्यः।

अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु "लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वो गुरुः" इति मध्योदात्तः सिद्धो भवति ... अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षोऽपि उणादिषु सिद्धान्तित एव। तथा च भाष्यकारेण बहुश उक्तम् "उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि" इति। एवं च कृत्वा "अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्" इति सूत्रमारभ्यते। अन्यथा कृदन्तत्वात् प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा सिद्ध्यति तदनारम्भणीयम्। व्युत्पत्तिपक्षोऽपि 'उणादयो बहुलम्' इत्यादिवचनात्। तथा च स्वरप्रदेशेषु व्युत्पत्त्यव्युत्पत्तिपक्षभेदेन स्वरव्युत्पादनमविरुद्धमेव।

2. अर्तेरूच्य। See also A.P., IV-46, U.S.N., IV-46, U.S.Sk., IV-44. अर्तेरू च। U.S.S. IV-46, D.P. I-14.

3. 'ऊर्णोतेर्णुलोपश्च' इति मिप्रत्ययः इति केचित् 'अर्तेरूच्य' (४-४४) इति मिप्रत्यय इति कमलनयनः। Devarāja Yajvā, commentary on Nirukta, ed. Pandit Satya Vrata Sāmāśramī, Vol. I., p. 44.

4. उच्चेति उचितम्। P.M., p. 789.

5. Pa. 8.2.77.

So far as the choice of the root is concerned, it is to be noted that both the roots extend their sense to the word formed. Nevertheless when we take stock of the commentaries on the uṇādi-sūtras, a majority of them follow the reading as given by Dikṣita and it also seems to be correct.

U.S.U. IV-64.¹ This sūtra prescribes the derivation of the word 'sūri' meaning 'a learned man'. The reading of this sūtra as given in the Daśapādī is different.² Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, examining the reading of the Daśapādī, remarks that 'nakāra' of 'rin' does not seem to be an anubandha as the next sūtra (D.P., IV-34) ordains another affix. If the author of the commentary on the Daśapādī had intended 'nakāra' to be an anubandha, he would rightly have read 'krin' in lieu of 'rin'. Now if 'nakāra' were not to be treated as an anubandha, the word derived would be 'sūrin' as is given in the Abhidhānamālā. But as the commentators on the Daśapādī have construed 'rin' as nit, it goes against the Vedic usage because this word is accented on the last syllable in the Ṛgveda.³ Thus Dikṣita tries to justify his own reading.

U.S.U. IV-68.⁴ Commenting on this sūtra, Śvetavanavāsin says that there is no point in prescribing another affix 'trin', when the uṇādi-affix 'trip' enunciated in the preceding sūtra⁵ gives the desired result. So far as the aspect of accentuation is concerned, the uṇādi-word 'atri' derived with the addition of either of the

affixes poses no problem. The affix 'trip' remains anudātta because of its being 'pit'¹ and the 'akāra' of 'atri' will naturally have the udātta accent. When the affix is 'nit', the word formed with its addition will also be accented on the first syllable.² In this manner the prescription of another affix becomes useless.³ Dikṣita also endorses the view of Śvetavanavāsin. He takes up other variations of this sūtra and examines them minutely. He says that the reading of Govardhana is wrong as the affix being 'nit' obtains accent on the first syllable while in the Ṛgveda it is not found to be accented on the first syllable. He further adds that the reading of the affix as 'trinic' in the Daśapādī is also not tenable, as the 'cakāra' as an anubandha will make the word have the accent on the last syllable,⁴ which can easily be done by the affix 'trini' in which 'ikāra' is an anubandha which does not let the affix be termed as 'nit'. He quotes Mādhava and Kaiyaṭa to justify his own reading.⁵

U.S.U. IV-117.⁶ This sūtra enjoins 'in' affix to be appended to all the roots in general. Śvetavanavāsin, commenting on this

1. सूडः क्रिः। Cf. also U.S.N., IV-66, U.S.Sk., IV-64.
2. सूजोरिन् दीर्घश्च। D.P., I-33.
3. दशपाद्यान्तु 'सूजो रिन् दीर्घश्च' इति पाठः। तत्र रिनो नकारो नानुबन्धः उत्तरसूत्रे प्रत्ययान्तरारम्भात्। अनुबन्धत्वे हि लाघवादिहैव 'क्रिन्' उच्येत। तथा सति सूरी सूरिणौ सूरिणः इत्यादिरूपम्। अत एव अभिधानमालायां 'सूरी' इति नान्तमुदाहृतमित्यवधेयम्। यत्तु दशपादीवृत्तिकारैर्निर्व्वत्त्वं स्वीकृत्य 'सूरिः' इत्युदाहृतं तदेतेन प्रत्युक्तम्। स्वरविरुद्धमपि 'सदा' पश्यन्ति सूरयः' (ऋ० १।२।२०) 'विसूरयो ददंतो विश्वमायुः' (ऋ० १।७३।५) इत्यादौ सूरिशब्दस्यान्तोदात्तत्वदर्शनात्। P.M., pp. 790-791.
4. अदेस्त्रिन्। Cf. also U.S.S., IV-70, U.S.N., IV-70. अदेस्त्रिनिश्च। A.P., IV-68, U.S.Sk., IV-68. अदेस्त्रिनिच्च। D.P., I-37.
5. राशदिभ्यां त्रिप्। U.S.S., IV-69.

1. अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिता। Pa. 3.1.4.
2. जित्यादिर्नित्यम्। Pa. 6.1.197.
3. ननु त्रिप्प्रत्ययेऽपि अनुदात्तत्वम्; त्रिन्प्रत्ययेऽपि नित्वादाद्युदात्तत्वमिति स्वरभेदो नास्ति। एवं तर्हि प्रत्ययान्तरकरणमनर्थकम्। U.S.S., IV-70.
4. चितः। Pa. 6.1.163.
5. उज्ज्वलदत्तस्तु 'अदेस्त्रिन्' इति पठित्वा अत्रिः इत्युदाजहार। तन्ना। त्रिपैव सिद्धे प्रत्ययान्तर-वैयर्थ्यात्। गोवर्धनस्तु 'अदेस्त्रिन् निच्च' इति पठित्वा निदिति वचनात् नकारस्य नेत्संज्ञा अत्रो अत्रिणौ अत्रिणः इत्याह। निदपि न, आद्युदात्तापत्तेः। न चेष्टापत्तिः। 'जहीन्यत्रिणं पणिम्' (ऋ० ६।५१।१४) 'दूरे वा ये अन्ति वा केचिदत्रिणः' (ऋ० १।१३।१) 'अग्ने हंसि न्यत्रिणम्' (ऋ० १०।११८।१) इत्यादौ अन्तोदात्तस्य निर्व्विवादत्वात्। दशपादीवृत्तौ तु 'अदेस्त्रिनिच्च' इति पठित्वा चकारात् त्रिबित्युक्तम्। तदपि न त्रिनिचश्चित्त्वस्य व्यर्थत्वात्, इकारेण नकारपरित्राणे सति प्रत्ययस्वरेणैवेष्टस्वरसिद्धेः। अत एव 'वधैर्दुःशसान्' (ऋ० १।१४।१) इति मन्त्रभाष्ये। 'अदेस्त्रिनिश्च' इति माधवः। 'न लुमताङ्गस्य' इति सूत्रे कैयटोऽप्येवमेवाहेति दिक्' इति। P.M., p. 791.
6. सर्वधातुभ्य इन्। U.S.U., IV-127, U.S.Sk., IV-117. इन् सर्वधातुभ्यः। U.S.S., IV-126, U.S.N., IV-128. इन्। D.P., I-46.

sūtra, says that the use of 'sarva' in the sūtra is for the sake of clarity.¹ In the Daśapādī the term 'sarvadhātubhyaḥ' is not read. The sūtra of the Daśapādī is as much as 'in', which seems to be right as the uṇādi-sūtras are understood to follow the sūtra (Pa. 3.3.1)² and hence under the purview of the extension of the sūtra 'dhātoḥ'.³ Dīkṣita also supports it saying that the constituent portion 'sarvadhātubhyaḥ' is an interpolation and hence useless.⁴ The sūtras (U.S.U. IV-144 and IV-158)⁵ should also be corrected in this manner.

Having discussed the major textual variations, we can conclude that the uṇādi-sūtras have been tampered with without any restraint. This is why the variations have become too unwieldy. In the light of the critical remarks given by Dīkṣita, Śvetavanavāsin, etc., an attempt at the rectification of other minor variations can be made. The following pages contain almost all the textual variations that occur in Pañcapādī and Daśapādī uṇādi-sūtras.

1. 'धात्वधिकाराद्भातुविशेषानुपादानाद्धातुमात्रपरिग्रहे सिद्धे सर्वग्रहणं विस्मयार्थम्।' U.S.S., IV-126.
2. उणादयो बहुलम्।
3. Pa. 3.1.91.
4. इह इन् इत्येव सूत्रं सर्वधातुभ्य इति तु प्रक्षिप्तं व्यर्थं च। अत एव दशपाद्यां 'इन्' इत्येव सूत्रं पठितमिति दिक्। P.M., p. 796.
5. सर्वधातुभ्यो मनिन् and सर्वधातुभ्यः ष्टन्।

Part II

The following list of the textual variations in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras is based on U.S.U., A.P., U.S.S., U.S.N., U.S.Sk. and D.P.

CHAPTER – I

1. कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण्। U.S.U. I-1, A.P. I-1, U.S.Sk. I-1, D.P. I-86.
...पावा...। U.S.S. I-1, U.S.N. I-1.
2. दसनिजनिचरिचटिभ्यो जुण्। U.S.U. I-3, U.S.Sk. I-3.
...रहिभ्यो...। A.P. I-3, U.S.S. I-3, D.P. I-88, U.S.N. I-3.
3. भृमृशोतृचरित्सरितनिधनिमिस्जिभ्य उः। U.S.U. I-7, A.P. I-7, U.S.S. I-7, U.S.N. I-7, U.S.Sk. I-7. D.P. I-92 omits 'घनि'.
4. कटिवटिभ्यां च। U.S.U. I-9.
A.P., U.S.S., U.S.N., U.S.Sk. and D.P. omit this sūtra.
5. ईषेः किच्च। U.S.U. I-14 A.P. I-13, U.S.Sk. I-13, D.P. I-98.
U.S.S. I-13, U.S.N. I-13.
6. स्कन्देः सलोपश्च। U.S.U. I-15, A.P. I-14, U.S.S. I-14, U.S.N. I-14, U.S.Sk. I-14.
स्कन्देलोपश्च। D.P. I-199.
7. पृमिदिव्यधिगृधिधृषिदृशिभ्यः। U.S.U. I-24, U.S.S. I-23, U.S.N. I-23.
...षिहृषिभ्यः। D.P. I-108 ...धृषिभ्यः। A.P. I-23, U.S.Sk. I-23.
8. अर्जिदृशिकम्यमिपंसिबाधामृजिपशितुकुधुकुदोर्घहकाराश्च। U.S.U. I-28, U.S.S. I-27, U.S.N. I-27.
...भिपशि...। A.P. I-25, U.S.Sk. I-27, D.P. I-112.
9. ऊर्णोतेर्नुलोपश्च। U.S.U. I-31, U.S.Sk. I-30.
...णुलो...। A.P. I-28, U.S.S. I-30, U.S.N. I-30, D.P. I-115.
10. खरुशङ्कुपीयुनीलङ्गुलिगु। U.S.U. I-37, U.S.Sk. I-36, D.P. I-120.,
...लिग्वङ्गुपङ्गुहिङ्ग्वंशवः। U.S.N. I-36.
11. मन्दिवाशिमथिचतिचङ्क्यङ्किभ्य उरच्। U.S.U. I-39, U.S.Sk. I-38, D.P. VIII-21.
मन्दिवासि...। U.S.S. I-38, U.S.N. I-38.
...वाशिमधि...। A.P. I-36.

12. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं किच्च। U.S.U. I-40, U.S.Sk. I-39.
...धः किच्च। U.S.S. I-39, U.S.N. I-39, D.P. VIII-22.
व्यथः...। A.P. I-37.
13. मकुरदुर्गौ। U.S.U. I-41, A.P. I-38, U.S.S. I-40.
मुकु...। U.S.Sk. I-40, D.P. VIII-22.
...दुर्गौ। U.S.N. I-40.
14. मदगुरादयश्च। U.S.U. I-42, A.P. I-39, U.S.Sk. I-41. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
15. मसेश्च। U.S.U. I-44, A.P. I-41, U.S.S. I-42, U.S.N. I-42, U.S.Sk. I-43. मसरून्। D.P. VIII-95.
16. अमेर्दीर्घश्च। U.S.U. I-47, A.P. I-44, U.S.S. I-45, U.S.N. I-45, U.S.Sk. I-46. Omitted in D.P.
17. इषिमदिमुदिखिदिछिदिभिदिमन्दिचन्दिमिमिहिमुहिमुचिरुधिबन्धिषुभिः। U.S.U. I-52, A.P. I-49, U.S.Sk. I-51, D.P. VIII-26.
...शुषिबन्धिभ्यः। U.S.S. I-50, U.S.N. I-50.
18. अशेर्निन्त्। U.S.U. I-53. अशेर्णिच्च। A.P. I-50, U.S.N. I-51.
अशेर्निच्च। U.S.S. I-51. अशेर्निन्त्। U.S.Sk. I-51. Omitted in D.P.
19. अजिरिशिरिशिथिलरिथिरस्फिरस्थविरखदिराः। U.S.U. I-54, A.P. I-51, U.S.Sk. I-53, D.P. VIII. 27.
...शिथिलरिशिर...। U.S.S. I-52.
...शिथिरिशिर...। U.S.N. I-52.
20. सलिकल्यनिमहिभडिभण्डिपण्डिपण्डितुण्डिकुकिभूय इलच्। U.S.U. I-55, A.P. I-52, U.S.S. I-53, U.S.Sk. I-54.
...महिभटिभण्डिचण्डि...। U.S.N. I-53. Omitted in D.P.
21. कमे पश्च। U.S.U. I-56, U.S.Sk. I-55.
कपेश्च। A.P. I-53, U.S.N. I-54.
कबेः पश्च। U.S.S. I-54. Omitted in D.P.
22. कबेरोतच् पश्च। U.S.U. I-63, A.P. I-60.
...ओतः...। Omitted in D.P., U.S.S. and U.S.N.
23. भातेर्डवतुप्। U.S.U. I-64.
...डवत्। A.P. I-61. डवतुः U.S.Sk. I-63. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
24. कठिचकिभ्यामोरन्। U.S.U. I-65, A.P. I-62, U.S.Sk. I-64.
...ओरः...। D.P. VII-29.
...ओरच्...। U.S.S. I-61, U.S.N. I-61.

25. कपिगडिगण्डिकटिपटिभ्य ओलच्। U.S.U. I-67, A.P. I-64.
...कोलच्। U.S.Sk. I-66. ...ओलेः...। D.P. VIII-105.
कपिकडि... ओलक्। U.S.S. I-63, U.S.N. I-63.
26. मीनातेरूरन्। U.S.U. I-68, A.P. I-65, U.S.S. I-67, U.S.N. I-66, U.S.Sk. I-67.
...ऊरः। D.P. VIII-28.
27. स्यन्देः सम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. I-69, A.P. I-66, U.S.Sk. I-68. Omitted in D.P., U.S.S. and U.S.N.
28. कमिमनिजनिगाभायाहिभ्यश्च। U.S.U. I-73, U.S.Sk. I-72.
...भापाया...। D.P. I-125.
...यापा...। A.P. I-70, U.S.S. I-69, U.S.N. I-68.
29. चायः किः। U.S.U. I-74, A.P. I-71, U.S.Sk. I-73.
...कीच। U.S.S. I-70, U.S.N. I-69, D.P. I-126.
30. खडेश्च। U.S.S. I-80, U.S.N. I-79.
खडेर्डुवा। U.S.U. I-84. Omitted in A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
31. गित्कशिपद्यर्तेः। U.S.U. I-87.
...कसि...। U.S.S. I-83, A.P. I-83, U.S.N. I-82, U.S.Sk. I-85.
...चकसि...। D.P. I-168.
32. त्रो दुक् च। U.S.U. I-91. ...डुट्। U.S.Sk. I-89.
...ट्टुट्। D.P. I-172. ...डुट् च। A.P. I-87.
...डुक्। U.S.S. I-87, U.S.N. I-86.
33. दरिद्रातेर्यालोपश्च। U.S.U. I-92, A.P. I-88, U.S.S. I-88, U.S.Sk. I-90, D.P. I-173.
...द्राया...। U.S.N. I-87.
34. अन्दृदृभूजम्बूकम्बूकफेलूकर्कधूदिधिषु। U.S.U. I-95.
...दृन्मूजम्बूकफेलू...। U.S.S. I-91, D.P. I-176.
...दृम्भूजम्बूकफेलू...। A.P. I-91, U.S.Sk. I-93, U.S.N. I-90.
35. ग्रो मुट् वा। U.S.U. I-97. ...मुट्च। A.P. I-93, U.S.Sk. I-95.
गर्मुट् च। U.S.S. I-93. गर्मुच्च। U.S.N. I-92.
गर्मुत्। D.P. VI-2.
36. ताडेर्णिलुक् च। U.S.U. I-100, A.P. I-96, U.S.Sk. I-98, D.P. VI-4.
ताडेर्णि...। U.S.S. I-96, U.S.N. I-95.

37. शमेर्दः। U.S.U. I-101, A.P. I-97, U.S.Sk. I-99, D.P. V-11.
षणेर्दः। U.S.S. I-97. षडेर्दः। U.S.N. I-96.
38. रमेर्वृद्धिश्च। U.S.U. I-103, A.P. I-97, U.S.Sk. I-101. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
39. भ्रमिभस्योरुच्चोपधायाः। U.S.S. I-105, U.S.N. I-104.
द्रमिभस्योरुच्च। D.P. VIII-113. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and A.P.
40. छो गुक् ह्रस्वश्च। U.S.U. I-112, A.P. I-106, U.S.Sk. I-110.
Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
41. क्वादिभ्यः कित्। U.S.U. I-114, A.P. I-108, U.S.Sk. I-112, D.P. V-8.
कुणादिभ्यः कित्। U.S.S. I-108, U.S.N. I-108.
42. स्थाचतिमृजेरालज्वालजालीयचः। U.S.U. I-115, U.S.Sk. I-113.
...आलवालजालीयः। U.S.N. I-109, D.P. X-1.
...वालजाली...। A.P. I-109.
...यरः...। U.S.S. I-109.
43. तमिविशिविडिमृणिकुलिकपिलिपचिभ्यः कालन्। U.S.U. I-117, U.S.Sk. I-115.
...पल्यट्ट...। A.P. I-111.
तमिविडिविलिम्... पलिविशिपचिकुणिभ्यः कालच्। D.P. VIII-115. Omitted in U.S.S. and U.S.N.
44. तरत्यादिभ्यश्च। U.S.U. I-119, A.P. I-113 U.S.Sk. I-117.
त्रादिभ्यश्च। U.S.N. I-112, D.P. III-60. Omitted in U.S.S.
45. विडादिभ्यः कित्। U.S.U. I-120, A.P. I-114, U.S.N. I-113, U.S.Sk. I-118, D.P. III-61. Omitted in U.S.S.
46. स्रृजोर्वृद्धिश्च। U.S.U. I-121, A.P. I-115, U.S.Sk. I-119.
सर्तेर्णित्। U.S.S. I-112, U.S.N. I-114. Omitted in D.P.
47. गन्नाम्यद्योः। U.S.U. I-122, U.S.Sk. I-120.
गन्नाम्यदोः। A.P. I-116. गन्नाम्यदेः। U.S.S. I-113. U.S.N. I-115, D.P. III-62.
48. छापूरवडिभ्यः कित्। U.S.U. I-123, A.P. I-117, U.S.Sk. I-121.
...पूज्... गक्। D.P. III-69.
...पूङ्... गक्। U.S.S. V-69.
...गक्। U.S.N. V-74.
49. त्यजितनियजिभ्यो डित्। U.S.U. I-131, A.P. I-125, U.S.Sk. I-129.

- त्यजियजितनि...। U.S.S. I-123, U.S.N. I-125.
...यतिभ्यो...। D.P. VI-43.
50. त्विषिमिषिम्यां च। U.S.S. I-122, U.S.N. I-124. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
51. पारेरजिः। U.S.U. I-135, U.S.S. I-126, U.S.N. I-128, D.P. IV-7.
पारयतेरजिः। A.P. I-127, U.S.Sk. I-133.
52. प्रथेः कित् सम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. I-136, A.P. I-128, U.S.Sk. I-134.
Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
53. अर्तिस्तुसुहुसृक्षिक्षुभायावापदियक्षिनीभ्यो मन्। U.S.U. I-139, A.P. I-131, U.S.Sk. I-137.
...यापदि...। U.S.S. I-127, U.S.N. I-130, D.P. VII-26.
54. जहातेः सन्वदालोपश्च। U.S.U. I-140, A.P. I-132, U.S.Sk. I-138.
Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
55. ग्रसेरात्। U.S.U. I-142, ग्रसतेरा च। A.P. I-134, U.S.S. I-129, U.S.N. I-132, D.P. VII-28.
ग्रसेरा च। U.S.Sk. I-140.
56. युजिरुचितिजां कुश्च। U.S.U. I-145, A.P. I-137, U.S.Sk. I-143, D.P. VII-33.
...कुत्वं च। U.S.S. I-132, U.S.N. I-135.
57. घर्मः। U.S.U. I-48, A.P. I-140, U.S.Sk. I-146, D.P. VII-36.
ग्रीष्मः। U.S.U. I-49, A.P. I-141, U.S.Sk. I-147, D.P. VII-37.
घर्मः ग्रीष्मः। As one sūtra, U.S.S. I-135, U.S.N. I-138.
58. प्रथेः शिवन् सम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. I-150, A.P. I-142, U.S.Sk. I-148, D.P. VIII-124.
...प्रसारणम्...। U.S.S. I-136.
...शिवच्प्रसारणम्...। U.S.N. I-139.
59. सर्वनिघृष्परिष्वलष्वशिवपद्वप्रहेष्वा अतन्ने। U.S.U. I-153, A.P. I-145, U.S.Sk. I-150.
...घृष्पर्च...। U.S.S. I-139.
...लष्वपद्व...। U.S.N. I-142.
...शिवह्रस्व...। D.P. VIII-127.
60. शेवायह्वजिह्वाग्रीवाष्वामीवाः। U.S.U. I-154.
शेवायह्वा...। A.P. I-46, U.S.S. I-140, U.S.N. I-143.
शेवयह्वा...। U.S.Sk. I-152.
शेवयह्वा...। D.P. VIII-128.

61. सप्यशूभ्यां तुट् च। U.S.S. I-143, U.S.N. I-148, A.P. I-149, U.S.Sk. I-55, D.P. VI-53. Omitted in U.S.U.
62. नञि जहातेः। U.S.U. I-157, A.P. I-150, U.S.N. I-146, U.S.Sk. I-156, D.P. VI-52. Omitted in U.S.S.
63. नुदंशेर्गुणश्च। U.S.S. I-144, U.S.N. I-149, D.P. VI-54. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and A.P.
64. पञ्चेश्च। U.S.N. I-147. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.S., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
65. सहेः षष् लुक्। U.S.S. I-145, D.P. IX-7. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.N., A.P., and U.S.Sk.
66. श्वन्नुक्षन्पूषन्प्लीहन्-क्लेदन्स्नेहन्मूर्धन्-मज्जन्-अर्यमन्-विश्वप्सन्-परिज्वन्-मातरिश्वन्-मघवन्निति। U.S.U. I-158, U.S.N. I-150.
...परिज्वन्...। A.P. I-151, U.S.S. I-146, U.S.Sk. I-157 and D.P. VI-55.

CHAPTER – II

67. उषिकुषिगार्तिभ्यस्थन्। U.S.U. II-4, A.P. II-4, U.S.S. II-4, U.S.Sk. II-4, D.P. VI-29.
...कनिभ्यः...। U.S.N. II-4.
68. तिथपृष्ठगूथयूथप्रोथाः। U.S.U. II-12, A.P. II-12, U.S.Sk. II-12, D.P. VI-37.
तिथकुथपृ...। U.S.S. II-12, U.S.N. II-12.
69. मुसेररक्। A.P. II-14. Omitted in U.S.N., U.S.S., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
70. तमेर्दुक् च। U.S.S. II-15, U.S.N. II-15. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
71. अर्देदीर्घश्च। U.S.U. II-18, A.P. II-19, U.S.Sk. II-18. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
72. शुचेर्दश्च। U.S.U. II-19, A.P. II-20, U.S.S. II-21, U.S.Sk. II-19. Omitted in U.S.N. and D.P.
73. सुसिचिमिजां दीर्घश्च। U.S.U. II-25.
...मीजां। U.S.N. II-25.
...मीनां...। A.P. II-27, U.S.S. II-28, U.S.Sk. II-26.
...मिभ्यो...। D.P. VIII-43.
74. ऋजेन्द्राग्रवज्रविप्रकुब्रचुब्रक्षुरभद्रोग्रभेरभेलशुक्रशुक्लगौरवत्रेमालाः। U.S.U. II-28, A.P. II-30, U.S.Sk. II-29.

- ...शुक्लतीव्रवर्ण...। D.P. VIII-46.
...विप्रकुप्रचुप्र...। U.S.N. II-28.
...कुप्रचुप्रवर्ण...। U.S.S. II-31.
75. समि कसेरुकन्। U.S.U. II-29.
समि कस उकन्। A.P. II-31, U.S.S. II-32, U.S.N. II-29, U.S.Sk. II-30, D.P. III-2.
76. पचिनश्योर्णुकन्कुमौ। U.S.U. II-30, A.P. II-32, U.S.Sk. II. 31.
...णश्यो...। U.S.S. II-33, D.P. III-3.
...नषोः...। U.S.N. II-30.
77. वृश्चिकृष्योः किकन्। U.S.U. II-40, U.S.Sk. II-41.
...कृषोः...। A.P. II-42, D.P. III-12.
वृश्चिकृषिकृशिभ्यः...। U.S.S. II-42, U.S.N. II-39.
78. अर्तेः किदिच्च। U.S.U. II-51, A.P. II-53, U.S.Sk. II-52.
अर्तेः रिच्च। U.S.S. II-54, U.S.N. II-51.
...किदिरिश्च। D.P. V-17.
79. तलिपुलिभ्यां च, गर्वेअत उच्च, रुहेश्च। U.S.U. II-53-54-55, A.P. II-55-56-57, U.S.Sk. II-54, 55, 56. These three sūtras are omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
80. क्विब्वचिप्रच्छिश्रिसुद्रुज्वां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. II-57, A.P. II-59, U.S.Sk. II-59.
...द्रुसुकट...। U.S.U. II-57, U.S.N. II-54, D.P. X-2.
81. परौ व्रजेः षश्चपदान्ते। U.S.U. II-59, A.P. II-61, U.S.S. II-59, U.S.N. II-55, U.S.Sk. II-60.
...षः पदान्ते क्विप् दीर्घश्च। D.P. IX-8.
82. आप्नोतेर्हस्वश्च। U.S.U. II-58, U.S.Sk. II-59, A.P. II-60.
आप्नोतेः क्विब्वहस्वश्च। U.S.S. V-65, U.S.N. V-70.
आप्नोतेः क्विब्वहस्वत्वं च। D.P. VIII-1.
83. द्युतिदृणातेर्हस्वश्च। U.S.S. II-61.
...दृणात्योः...। U.S.N. II-57. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P. U.S.Sk. and D.P.
84. सुवः कः। U.S.U. II-61, A.P. II-63, U.S.Sk. II-62.
...कन्। U.S.S. II-62, U.S.N. II-58.
...कित्। D.P. VIII-130.
85. भ्रमेश्च डूः। U.S.U. II-68, A.P. II-70, U.S.Sk. II-69, D.P. I-177.

- भ्रमेईः। U.S.S. II-69, U.S.N. II-65.
86. दमेडोसि। U.S.U. II-69, A.P. II-71, U.S.N. II-66, U.S.Sk. II-70.
...डोस्। U.S.S. II-70, D.P. IX-43.
87. वशः कित्। U.S.U. II-70, A.P. II-73, U.S.S. II-72, U.S.N. II-68.
वशेः। U.S.Sk. II-72, D.P. IV-9.
88. गमेर्गश्च। U.S.U. II-77, A.P. II-79, U.S.N. II-80, U.S.Sk. II-78.
Omitted in U.S.S. and D.P.
89. कृपृवृजिमन्दिनिधाजः क्युः। U.S.U. II-81, U.S.Sk. II-82.
... धाज्य...। A.P. II-83, U.S.S. II-81, U.S.N. II-77, D.P. V-26.
90. हन्तेर्घुरश्च। U.S.U. II-83.
...घुरच। U.S.S. II-83.
घुरच। U.S.N. II-79. Omitted in A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
91. छन्दस्यानच् शुजृभ्याम्। U.S.U. II-86, A.P. II-87, U.S.Sk. II-86, D.P. V-29. ...शवजृभ्याम्। U.S.S. II-86, U.S.N. II-83.
92. सम्यानच् स्तुवः। U.S.U. II-89, A.P. II-87, U.S.S. II-89, U.S.N. II-86, U.S.Sk. II-89.
...स्तौतेः। D.P. V-22.
93. युधिबुधिदृशेः किच्च। U.S.U. II-90, D.P. V-33.
...दृशिभ्यः। A.P. II-91, U.S.S. II-90, U.S.N. II-87, U.S.Sk. II-90.
94. मुचियुधिभ्यां सन्वच्च। U.S.U. II-91, U.S.S. II-92, U.S.N. II-89.
Omitted in A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
95. शिवतेर्दश्च। U.S.U. II-93, A.P. II-93, U.S.N. II-91, U.S.Sk. II-92.
Omitted in U.S.S. and D.P.
96. नप्त्नेष्ट्वष्ट्वहोतृपोतृभ्रातृजामातृपितृदुहितृ। U.S.U. II-96, U.S.Sk. II-95.
...पोतृप्रशास्तृजामातृभ्रातृमातृपितृ...। A.P. II-96.
...त्वष्टृक्षत्... पोतृजामातृ...। U.S.S. II-96.
...त्वष्टृक्षत्... पोतृजामातृपितृमातृभ्रातृदुहितृ। U.S.N. II-94.
...तवष्टृक्षत्... मातृभ्रातृ...। D.P. II-3.
97. अर्चिशुचिहुसृपिछादिछर्दिभ्यः इसिः। U.S.U. II-109, A.P. II-108, U.S.Sk. II-108.
...छदिछादिभ्यः...। U.S.S. II-109.
...छदिछादि...। U.S.N. II-107.
...छादिछृदि...। D.P. IX-30.
98. सहेर्धश्च। U.S.U. II-114, U.S.S. II-114, U.S.N. II-112, D.P. IX-

35.
सहो धश्च। D.P. II-113, U.S.Sk. II-113.
99. अर्तिपृवपियजितनिधनितपिभ्यो नित्। U.S.U. II-118, A.P. II-117, U.S.Sk. II-117.
...घनितनि...। D.P. IX-39. ...त्रपिभ्यो...। U.S.S. II-118, U.S.N. II-116.
100. प्रे दः। U.S.S. II-119, U.S.N. II-117. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
101. मुहेः किच्च। U.S.U. II-121, A.P. II-120, U.S.Sk. II-120. U.S.S. II-123, U.S.N. II-121. Omitted in D.P.

CHAPTER – III

102. छित्वरच्छत्वरधीवरपीवरमीवरचीवरतीवरनीवरगह्वरकट्त्वरसंयद्वराः। U.S.U. III-1, A.P. III, 1, U.S.S. III-1, U.S.N. III-1, U.S.Sk. III-1.
...पीवरचीवरगह्वर... द्वरोपह्वराः। D.P. VIII-49.
103. इण्षिञ्जिदोड्युषिभ्यो नक्। U.S.U. III-2.
इण्षिञ्ज्...। A.P. III-2, U.S.Sk. III-2.
...सिञ्ज्दी...। U.S.S. III-2, U.S.N. III-2, D.P. V-35.
104. पणेरिच्चोपधायाः। U.S.S. III-7, U.S.N. III-7. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
105. सिवेष्टेयूः। U.S.U. III-9, A.P. III-9, U.S.S. III-9, U.S.N. III-9.
यू च। U.S.Sk. III-9.
...यु च। D.P. V-41.
106. कृवृजृषिद्रुपन्यनिस्वपिभ्यो नित्। U.S.U. III-10.
...जृसि...। A.P. III-10, U.S.N. III-10, U.S.Sk. III-10, D.P. V-42.
...पृवृजृसि...। U.S.S. III-10.
107. घेट इच्च। U.S.U. III-10, A.P. III-11, U.S.Sk. III-11.
...ई च। U.S.S. II-11, U.S.N. III-11, D.P. V-43.
108. गादाभ्यामिण्युच्। U.S.U. III-16, A.P. III-6, U.S.N. III-16, U.S.Sk. III-16.
...चेण्युच्...। U.S.S. III-16.
...चेण्युक्। D.P. V-48.
109. यजिमनिशुन्धिदसिजनिभ्यो युच्। U.S.U. III-20, A.P. III-20, U.S.Sk. III-20, D.P. I-134.
...युः। U.S.S. III-20. U.S.N. III-20.

110. सतैर्युः। U.S.U. III-22, A.P. III-22, U.S.S. III-22, U.S.Sk. III-22.
...अयूः। U.S.N. III-22.
111. च्युवः किच्च। U.S.U. III-24, A.P. III-24, U.S.Sk. III-24.
...किद्दोर्घश्च। U.S.S. III-24, U.S.N. III-24.
...चुपेः कित्। D.P. VII-3.
112. स्तुवो दीर्घश्च। U.S.U. III-25, A.P. III-25, U.S.Sk. III-25, D.P. VII-4.
स्त्यस्सम्प्रसारणमुश्च। U.S.S. III-25.
स्त्यस्सम्प्रसारणमूश्च। U.S.N. III-29.
113. स्तनिहृषिपुषिगदिमदिभ्यो णेरित्नु च। U.S.U. III-29, A.P. III-29, U.S.Sk. III-29.
...पुषिपुषिगदिभ्यो...। U.S.S. III-29.
...पुषिगदिमदिभ्यो...। U.S.N. III-29.
...मदिधुषिगन्धिमडिजनिनदिभ्यो...। D.P. I-140.
114. कृहनिभ्यां क्तुः। U.S.U. II-30, A.P. III-30, U.S.Sk. III-30.
...क्तुः। U.S.S. III-30, U.S.N. III-30, D.P. I-141.
115. स्थो णुः। U.S.U. III-37, A.P. III-37, U.S.N. III-37, U.S.Sk. III-37, D.P. I-147. स्थाणु। U.S.S. III-37.
116. सृवृभूषिमुषिभ्यः कक्। U.S.U. III-41, U.S.Sk. III-41.
...कित्। A.P. III-41, U.S.S. III-41, U.S.N. III-41, D.P. III-19.
117. स्यमेरीट् च। U.S.U. III-46, A.P. III-46, U.S.Sk. III-46.
स्यम ईट् च। U.S.S. III-45, U.S.N. III-45, D.P. III-23.
118. अनुङ् नदेश्च। U.S.U. III-52, A.P. III-52, U.S.Sk. III-52.
चनुङ् नुदेश्च। U.S.S. III-51, U.S.N. III-51.
चनुक् नदेश्च। D.P. I-139.
119. कृवृदारिभ्यः उनन्। U.S.U. III-53, A.P. III-53, U.S.Sk. III-53.
...वृत्...। U.S.S. III-52, U.S.N. III-52, D.P. V-52.
120. फलेर्गुक्च। U.S.U. III-56, A.P. III-56, U.S.Sk. III-56, D.P. V-55. Omitted in U.S.S. and U.S.N.
121. धारेर्णिलुक् च। U.S.S. III-59, U.S.N. III-59, D.P. V-60. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P. and U.S.Sk.
122. प्लुषेरच्चोपधायाः। U.S.U. III-63, A.P. III-63, U.S.N. II-62, U.S.Sk. III-63, D.P. IX-22. Omitted in U.S.S.
123. नदेः कश्च। U.S.N. III-65. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.S., A.P. U.S.Sk. and D.P.
124. उन्दिगुधिकुषिभ्यश्च। U.S.U. III-68, A.P. III-68, U.S.Sk. III-68.
उन्दिमिगुधिकुषिभ्यः किच्च। D.P. IX-28. Omitted in U.S.S. and U.S.N.
125. गृधिपण्योर्दकौ च। U.S.U. III-60, A.P. III-69, U.S.N. III-68, U.S.Sk. III-69.
...पत्योर्दकौ च। U.S.S. III-66.
...पत्योर्दशौ च। D.P. IX-29.
126. अशेः सरन्। U.S.U. III-70, U.S.S. III-67, U.S.N. III-70, D.P. VIII-50.
...सरः। A.P. III-70, U.S.Sk. III-70.
127. सम्पूर्वाच्चित्। U.S.U. III-73, U.S.S. III-69, U.S.Sk. III-72.
सपूर्वाच्चित्। A.P. III-72, U.S.N. III-72, D.P. VIII-52.
128. पतेरश्चलः। U.S.U. III-74, A.P. III-74, U.S.Sk. III-74, D.P. VIII-54.
...लोवा। U.S.S. III-71, U.S.N. III-74.
129. पीयूक्वणिभ्यां कालन् ह्रस्वः सम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. II-76, A.P. III-76, D.P. VIII-117.
प्रियु...। U.S.Sk. III-76.
वीयु... प्रसारणं च। U.S.S. III-73.
वीयु... प्रसारणं च। U.S.N. III-76.
130. कठिकुषिभ्यां काकु। U.S.U. III-77, A.P. III-77.
...कुषि... कारूः। U.S.S. III-74.
कटिकुषि...। U.S.Sk. III-77.
कुटिकुषि...। U.S.N. II-79.
कुडिकुषि...। D.P. I-150.
131. वृतेर्वृद्धिश्च। U.S.U. III-79, A.P. III-79, U.S.Sk. III-79. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
132. स्युवचिभ्योऽन्युजागूजक्तुचः। U.S.U. III-81, A.P. III-81, U.S.N. III-83, U.S.Sk. III-81, D.P. X-4,
...गुन्चः। U.S.S. III-77.
133. आनकः शीङ्भियः। U.S.U. III-82, A.P. III-82, U.S.N. III-84, U.S.Sk. III-82, D.P. II-26.
आनकन्...। U.S.S. IV-78.

134. आणकोलूधूशिङ्घिधाञ्भ्यः। U.S.U. III-83, A.P. III-83, U.S.Sk. III-83.
 आनकच् लूशिङ्घि...। U.S.S. III-79.
 ...लूशिङ्घि...। D.P. III-27. Omitted in U.S.N.
135. नज्याप इट् च। U.S.U. III-87, A.P. III-87, U.S.N. III-88, U.S.Sk. III-87.
 नज्याप्नोतेरिट् च। U.S.S. III-83. Omitted in D.P.
136. जेर्मूट् चोदात्तः। U.S.U. III-91, A.P. III-91, U.S.Sk. III-91.
 ...मुट्...। U.S.N. III-92, D.P. VI-11. Omitted in U.S.S.
137. पिशेः किच्च (पिशितम्) U.S.U. III-95, A.P. III-95, U.S.Sk. III-95, D.P. V-53. Omitted in U.S.S. and U.S.N.
138. श्रुदक्षिस्पृहिगृहिभ्य आय्यः। U.S.U. III-96, A.P. III-96. U.S.Sk. III-96.
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139. दधिषाय्यः। U.S.U. III-97, U.S.N. III-97, U.S.S. III-91, D.P. VIII-2.
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140. वृज एण्यः। U.S.U. III-98, U.S.N. III-98, U.S.Sk. III-98.
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141. स्तुवः केय्यश्छन्दसि। U.S.U. III-99.
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142. अमिनक्षियजिवधिपतिभ्योऽत्रन्। U.S.U. III-105, A.P. III-105, U.S.N. III-104, U.S.Sk. III-105, D.P. VIII-56.
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143. गडेरादेश्च कः। U.S.U. III-106, A.P. III-106, U.S.Sk. III-106, D.P. VIII-57.
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145. खलतिः। U.S.U. III-112, A.P. III-112, U.S.Sk. III-112.
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146. रुदिविदिभ्यां ङित्। U.S.U. III-116, A.P. III-114, U.S.Sk. III-115.
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150. वेजस्तुट्। U.S.U. III-118, A.P. III-117, U.S.S. III-112, U.S.N. III-117, U.S.Sk. III-118.
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153. गडेः कल च। U.S.S. III-120.
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154. अर्तिकमिभ्रमिचमिदिविवासिवाशिभ्यश्चित्। U.S.U. III-132, U.S.Sk. III-132.
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155. ऋच्छेरः। U.S.U. III-131, A.P. 130, U.S.S. III-126, U.S.N. III-132, U.S.Sk., III-131.
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170. शलिपटिपतिभ्यो नित्। U.S.S. IV-15, U.S.N. IV-15, D.P. III-33.
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171. अनिदृशिभ्यां किच्च। U.S.U. IV-17, A.P. IV-18, U.S.Sk. IV-17.
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175. ऋजेश्च। U.S.U. IV-22, A.P. IV-23, U.S.S. IV-2, U.S.Sk. IV-22, D.P. III-40.
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176. ईषेः किद्दहस्वश्च। U.S.U. IV-21, A.P. IV-22, U.S.S. IV-23, U.S.Sk. IV-21, D.P. III-39.
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178. अर्जेर्ऋजश्च। U.S.U. IV-28, A.P. IV-29, U.S.N. IV-29, U.S.Sk. IV-28,
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180. विषा विहा। U.S.U. IV-36, A.P. IV-37, U.S.Sk. IV-36.
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181. भिदेः किच्च। U.S.S. IV-39, U.S.N. IV-39.
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182. शीडो धुग्वलज्वालनः। U.S.U. IV-38, U.S.Sk. IV-38.
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185. अर्तेरूच्च। U.S.U. IV-44, A.P. IV-46, U.S.N. IV-46, U.S.Sk. IV-44.
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187. वीज्याज्वरिभ्यो निः। U.S.U. IV-48, A.P. IV-50, U.S.S. IV-50, U.S.Sk. IV-48, D.P. I-18.
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190. वृद्ध्यां विन्। U.S.U. IV-53, A.P. IV-53, U.S.Sk. IV-52, D.P. I-23,
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191. कृविधृष्विच्छविस्थविकिकीदिवि। U.S.U. IV-56, A.P. IV-56, U.S.Sk. IV-56.
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192. सूडः क्रिः। U.S.U. IV-64, U.S.N. IV-66, U.S.Sk. IV-64.
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193. अदेस्त्रिन्। U.S.U. IV-68, U.S.S. IV-70, U.S.N. IV-70.
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194. पतेरत्रिन्। U.S.U. IV-69, A.P. IV-69, U.S.S. IV-71, U.S.N. IV-71, U.S.Sk. IV-69.
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196. पृनहिकलिभ्य उषच्। U.S.U. IV-75, A.P. IV-75, U.S.Sk. IV-75.
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198. गण्डेश्च। U.S.U. IV-78, A.P. IV-78, U.S.Sk. IV-78. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
199. अङ्गूषः। U.S.S. IV-82, U.S.N. IV-83. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P. and U.S.Sk.
200. शकादिभ्योऽटन्। U.S.U. IV-81, A.P. IV-81, U.S.S. IV-85, U.S.Sk. IV-81, D.P. V-2.
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202. कृकदिकडिकटिभ्योऽम्बच्। U.S.U. IV-82, A.P. IV-82, U.S.Sk. IV-82.
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205. कलिकद्योरमः। U.S.U., IV-84, A.P. IV-84, U.S.Sk. IV-84.
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209. तमेर्बुक् च। U.S.S. IV-98.
 ...दीर्घश्च। U.S.SN. IV-98. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P. U.S.Sk. and D.P.
210. हसृभ्यां क्वनिप् – सृजेरम् च। U.S.S. IV-104, U.S.N. IV-105, 106, D.P. VI-66, 67. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P. and U.S.Sk.
211. मिपीभ्यां रुः। U.S.U. IV-101, A.P. IV-101, U.S.Sk. IV-101.
 मापोरूरी च। U.S.S. IV-110, U.S.N. IV-111, D.P. I-157.
212. रुशादिभ्यां कृन्। U.S.U. IV-103.
 ...शाति...। A.P. IV-103, U.S.Sk. IV-103, D.P. I-159.
 ...शति...। U.S.S. IV-112, U.S.N. IV-113.
213. जनिदाच्युसृवृमदिशमिनमिभृज्भ्य इत्त्वन्त्वन्त्किन्शक्स्वढडटाटचः। U.S.U. IV-104.
 ...दिषमि-स्यद...। A.P. IV-104, U.S.Sk. IV-104.
 ...स्यखठटाटच। U.S.S. IV-114.
 ...त्वन्न्कनन्किशक्छक्खठक्टाटचः। U.S.N. IV-115.
 ...त्वक्त्तन्किशक्छक्खठक्टाटचः। D.P. X-15.

214. सानसिवर्णसिपर्णसितण्डुलाङ्कुशचषालेत्वलपल्वलधिष्ण्यशल्याः। U.S.U. V-107, A.P. IV-107, U.S.Sk. IV-107.
...सर्णसिवर्णसि। U.S.N. IV-118.
...सानसिघर्णसि...। U.S.S. IV-117, D.P. X-17.
215. कुसेरुभोमेदेताः। U.S.U. IV-106, U.S.Sk. IV-106.
...किच्च। A.P. IV-106.
...डोमेदे... किच्च। U.S.S. IV-113, U.S.N. IV-114.
कुसेरूलोभोरावोमेदेता कित्। D.P. X-14.
216. माच्छाससिसूभ्यो यः। U.S.U. IV-109, U.S.S. IV-118, D.P. VII-12.
...ससिभ्यो यः। A.P. IV-109, U.S.N. IV-119, U.S.Sk. IV-109.
217. स्नामदिपद्यतिपृशकिभ्यो वनिप्। U.S.U. IV-112, A.P. IV-112, U.S.Sk. IV-112, D.P. VI-68.
...पदमद्यति...। U.S.S. IV-121.
...द्यतिधकि...। U.S.N. IV-123.
218. अदेर्घच। U.S.U. IV-115, U.S.Sk. IV-115.
अतेः...। A.P. IV-115, U.S.S. IV-124, U.S.N. IV-126.
...घश्च। D.P. VI-71.
219. प्र ईरशदोस्तुट् च। U.S.U. IV-116, A.P. IV-126, U.S.Sk. IV-116.
...ईरिसद्योः...। U.S.N. IV-127, D.P. VI-72.
प्रेरिसदो। U.S.S. IV-125.
220. सर्वधातुभ्यः इन्। U.S.U. IV-127, U.S.Sk. IV-117.
इन् सार्वधातुभ्यः। U.S.S. IV-126, U.S.N. IV-128.
इन्। D.P. I-46.
221. हपिषिरुहिवृतिविदिछिदिकीर्तिभ्यश्च। U.S.U. IV-118, A.P. IV-118, U.S.Sk. IV-118.
हपिशि... विदिकीर्ति...। U.S.S. IV-128, U.S.N. IV-130, D.P. I-47.
222. पचिपठिकाशिवाशिनदिभ्य इन्। U.S.S. IV-127,
...काशिनन्दिभ्यः...। U.S.N. IV-129. Omitted in U.S.U., A.P., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
223. क्रमितमिशतिस्तम्भामत इच्च। U.S.U. IV-121, A.P. IV-121, U.S.Sk. IV-121.
क्रमिगमिनमितमिस्त...। U.S.S. IV-131.
...तमिनमिस्त...। U.S.N. IV-133.
...तमिस्त...। D.P. I-50.
224. वर्णेर्वलिश्चाहिरण्ये। U.S.U. IV-123.
...बलि...। A.P. IV-123, U.S.Sk. IV-123.
वलेर्बलचा...। U.S.S. IV-133.
वलेर्वलिच...। U.S.N. IV-135.
वल्लेवलिरहिरण्ये। D.P. I-52.
225. वसिवपियजिराजिब्रजिसदिहनिवाशिवादिवारिभ्य इञ्। U.S.U. IV-124, A.P. IV-124, U.S.Sk. IV-124.
...वपिवदि... ध्वजिसदिहनिकमिकषिवाशिवारि। D.P. I-53.
...राजिघ्राजिध्वजि...। U.S.S. IV-134.
...राजिघ्रजिध्वजि... हनिकमिपाशिदिवृङ्भ्यः...। U.S.N. IV-136.
226. णहोभश्च। U.S.U. IV-125,
नहो भ च। U.S.N. IV-137.
नहो न भ च। U.S.S. IV-135.
नहो भश्च। A.P. IV-124, U.S.Sk. IV-125, D.P. I-54.
227. कृञ उदीचां कारुषु। U.S.U. IV-128, A.P. IV-128, U.S.S. IV-138, U.S.Sk. IV-128, U.S.N. IV-140.
...कारिषु...। D.P. I-57.
228. अशिपणायो रुडायलुकौ। U.S.U. IV-134, A.P. IV-132, U.S.Sk. IV-132.
...रुडलुकौ...। U.S.N. IV-144, D.P. I-61.
अशिपणिभ्यां रुडलुकौ। U.S.S. IV-142.
229. वातेर्दिच्च। U.S.U. IV-133, A.P. IV-133, U.S.Sk. IV-133.
वेजो डित्। U.S.S. IV-143, U.S.N. IV-145, D.P. I-62.
230. प्रे हस्तेः कूपे। U.S.U. IV-134, A.P. IV-134, U.S.N. IV-146, U.S.Sk. IV-134, D.P. I-63.
प्रे भरतेः कूपे। U.S.S. IV-144.
231. नौ व्यो यलोपः पूर्वस्य च दीर्घः। U.S.U. IV-135, A.P. IV-135, U.S.Sk. IV-135.
...पूर्वपदस्य...। U.S.S. IV-145, U.S.N., D.P. I-64.
232. खनिकष्यज्यसिवसिवनिसनिध्वनिग्रन्थिचरिभ्यश्च। U.S.U. IV-139.
...चलिभ्यः। A.P. IV-139, U.S.Sk. IV-149.
वसिध्वनिसनिग्र...। U.S.S. IV-149, D.P. I-68.
...असिपुसि...। U.S.N. IV-151.

- ...यमिमनितनि...। D.P. VIII-84.
255. चरेर्वृत्ते। U.S.U. IV-171, U.S.S. IV-178, U.S.Sk. IV-171.
... ते हस्वश्च वा। U.S.N. IV-180, D.P. VIII-92.
256. चित्तेः कणः कश्च। U.S.U. IV-175, U.S.Sk. IV-175. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
257. सूचेः स्मन्। U.S.U. IV-176, U.S.N. IV-184, U.S.Sk. IV-176, D.P. VII-41.
...कस्मन्। U.S.S. IV-182.
258. पातेर्दुस्सुन्। U.S.U. IV-177, U.S.Sk. IV-117.
...डंसिच्। U.S.S. IV-183, U.S.N. IV-185, D.P. IX-48.
259. वचेरुष्यन्। U.S.S. IV-185, U.S.N. IV-187. Omitted U.S.U., U.S.Ks. D.P.
260. सावसेः। U.S.U. IV-180, U.S.Sk., IV-180. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N., D.P.
261. पदिप्रथिभ्यां नित्। U.S.U. IV-182, U.S.Sk. IV-182.
प्रथेर्नित्। U.S.S. IV-188, U.S.N. IV-190, D.P. I-75.
262. रुचिवचिकुचिकुटिभ्यः कितच्। U.S.U. IV-185, U.S.Sk. IV-185.
...कुत्सिकुषिभ्यः...। U.S.S. IV-191, U.S.N. IV-193. Omitted in D.P.
263. कुटिकुषिभ्यां कमलन्। U.S.U. IV-186, D.P. VIII-120.
कुठि... लच्। U.S.S. IV-192.
कुषिकुटिभ्यां...। U.S.N. IV-194.
कुडि...। U.S.Sk. IV-186.
264. कुषेर्लश्च। U.S.U. IV-187, U.S.S. IV-193, U.S.Sk. IV-187.
कुशेः...। U.S.N. IV-195. Omitted in D.P.
265. सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन्। U.S.U. IV-188, U.S.Sk. IV-188.
असुन्। U.S.S. IV-194, U.S.N. IV-196, D.P. IX-49.
266. पिबतेरी च। U.S.S. IV-195, U.S.N. IV-197.
पिबतेरि च D.P. IX-50. Omitted in U.S.U., and U.S.Sk.
267. रपेरत एच्च। U.S.U. IV-189, U.S.Sk. IV-189. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N., and D.P.
268. अशेर्देवने युट्। U.S.U. IV-190, U.S.Sk. IV-190.
अशेर्भगे युट् च। U.S.S. IV-196.

- अशेर्युट्। U.S.N. IV-198.
269. उब्जेर्बलो बलोपश्च। U.S.U. IV-191, U.S.S. IV-197, U.S.Sk. IV-191, D.P. IX-52.
अब्जेर्बलोपश्च। U.S.N. IV-199.
270. श्वेः सम्प्रसारणं च। U.S.U. IV-192, U.S.S. IV-198, U.S.N. IV-200, U.S.Sk. IV-192.
श्वयतेः। D.P. IX-53.
271. रिचेर्धने चित्किच्च। U.S.U. IV-198.
...धने किच्च। U.S.U. IV-204.
...घित्। U.S.N. IV-206.
...घिच्च। D.P. IX-59. U.S.Sk. IV-198.
272. चायतेरन्ने हस्वश्च। U.S.U. IV-199, U.S.N. IV-107, U.S.Sk. IV-199.
चायेरन्ने...। U.S.S. IV-205.
...चा वा। D.P. IX-60.
273. अदेर्नुम् धौ च। U.S.U. IV-205, U.S.Sk. IV-205, D.P. IX-66.
...धश्च। U.S.S. IV-211, U.S.N. IV-213.
274. आपः कर्माख्यायां हस्वस्तुट् च वा। U.S.U. IV-207.
...हस्वश्च वा नुम्। U.S.U. IV-213.
...आपः कर्माख्यायाम्। U.S.Sk. IV-207.
...हस्वश्च नुट् च वा। U.S.N. IV-215, D.P. IX-68.
275. उदके नुम्भौ च। U.S.U. V-209, U.S.Sk. IV-209. D.P. IX 90.
...नुम्भश्च। U.S.S. IV-215, U.S.N. IV-217.
276. रमेश्च। देशे हश्च। U.S.S. IV-219-220, U.S.N. IV-221-222.
रमेश्च। देशे ह च। U.S.U. IV-213-214, U.S.Sk. IV-213-214.
रमे देशे हश्च। As a single sūtra D.P. IX-74.
277. अज्यञ्जियुजिमृजिभ्यः कुश्च। U.S.U. IV-215, U.S.Sk. IV-215.
अज्यञ्जियुजिभृजां कुश्च। D.P. IX-75.
...मृजां...। U.S.S. IV-221.
...भ्रस्जां...। U.S.N. IV-223.
278. भूरञ्जिभ्यां कित्। U.S.U. IV-216, U.S.S. IV-222, U.S.Sk. IV-216, D.P. IX-76.
...रञ्जिमिथित्पृभ्यः कित्। U.S.N. IV-224.

279. वसेर्णित्। U.S.U. IV-217, U.S.Sk. IX-217, U.S.N. IV-225, D.P. IX-77.
वस्तेर्णित्। U.S.S. IV-223.
280. वहिहाधाभ्यश्छन्दसि। U.S.U. IV-220, U.S.Sk. IV-220, D.P. IX-80.
...धाभ्यः...। U.S.N. IV-228.
वहिहाधाभ्यश्छन्दसि। U.S.S. IV-226.
281. नञ्याहन एह च। U.S.U. IV-223, U.S.S. IV-229, U.S.N. IV-231, D.P. IX-83.
न जिहन...। U.S.Sk. IV-223.
282. गतिकारकयोः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम्। U.S.U. IV-226.
...रत्वं च। U.S.S. IV-232, U.S.N. IV-234, D.P. IX-87.
...कारकोपपदयोः...। U.S.Sk. IV-226.
283. उषः कित्। U.S.U. IV-233, U.S.S. IV-239, U.S.N. IV-241, U.S.Sk. IV-233.
वसेः कित्। D.P. IX-94.
284. दमेरूनसिः। U.S.U. IV-234, U.S.Sk. IV-234.
...ऊनसिः। U.S.S. IV-240, U.S.N. IV-242, D.P. IX-95.
285. अङ्गिराः। U.S.U. IV-235, D.P. IX-96.
अप्सराः। U.S.U. IV-236, D.P. IX-97.
अङ्गिरा अप्सराः। As one sūtra, U.S.S. IV-241, U.S.N. IV-243.
अङ्गगतेरसिरिरुडागमश्च। U.S.Sk. IV-235.
सर्तेरप्पूर्वादसिः। U.S.Sk. IV-236.
286. विदिभुजिभ्यां विश्वे। U.S.U. IV-237, U.S.N. IV-245, U.S.Sk. IV-237, D.P. IX-98.
दिवि...। U.S.S. IX-242.

CHAPTER – V

287. पातेरतिः। U.S.U. V-5, U.S.Sk. V-5, D.P. I-77.
पातेर्दतिः। U.S.S. V-5, U.S.N. V-5.
288. अर्तेश्च। U.S.U. V-7, U.S.Sk. V-7. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
289. तृहेः क्नो हलोपश्च। U.S.U. V-8, U.S.N. V-7, U.S.Sk. V-8.
...क्नन्...। U.S.S. V-7, D.P. V-62.

290. वृल्लुटितनिताडिभ्य उलन् तण्डश्च। U.S.U. V-9.
...उलच्...। U.S.Sk. V-9.
वृड्... तटितण्डिभ्य उलच्। U.S.S. V-8.
...नितडितण्डिभ्य उलच्। U.S.N. V-8.
वृड्... उलच्...। D.P. VIII-12.
291. The sūtras U.S.N. V-9-10-11-12-13-14 are omitted in U.S.U, U.S.S., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
292. दंसेष्टनौ न आत्। U.S.U. V-10.
...न आ च। U.S.S. V-9, U.S.N. V-15, U.S.Sk. V-10, D.P. IX-103.
293. दंशेश्च। U.S.U. V-11, U.S.S. V-10, U.S.N. V-16, U.S.Sk. V-11.
दाशतेश्च। D.P. IX-104.
294. उदिचेर्देंसिः। U.S.U. V-12, U.S.Sk. V-12. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
295. नौ दीर्घश्च। U.S.U. V-13, U.S.Sk. V-13. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
296. सौ रमतेः क्तो दमेः पूर्वपदस्य च दीर्घः। U.S.U. V-14, U.S.Sk. V-14.
...स्मेः...। D.P. VI-23.
सौ रमे क्तः। U.S.S. V-11, U.S.N. V-17.
दमे पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः। U.S.S. V-12, U.S.N. V-18.
297. पूडो यण्णुक् हस्वश्च। U.S.U. V-15.
पूजो... णुट्...। U.S.N. V-19, D.P. VIII-16.
... णुट्...। U.S.S. V-13.
पूजो...। U.S.Sk. V-15.
298. अर्तेः क्युरुच्च। U.S.U. V-17.
...क्युन्...। U.S.N. V-21, D.P. V-63.
...युरुच्च...। U.S.Sk. V-17.
...युर्दुश्च। U.S.S. V-15.
299. उदि दृणातेरलचौ पूर्वपदान्त्यलोपश्च। U.S.U. V-19, U.S.N. V-23, D.P. VIII-97.
...पदान्त...। U.S.S. V-17.
...अजलौ...। U.S.Sk. V-19.

300. डित्खनेर्मुट् चोदात्तः। U.S.U. V-20, U.S.S. V-18, U.S.N. V-24.
...स चोदात्तः। U.S.Sk. V-20,
डस्...। D.P. III-51.
301. अमेः सन्। U.S.U. V-21, U.S.Sk. V-21. अमेरेसन्। U.S.S. V-20,
IX-100.
...असच्। U.S.N. V-26.
302. नहेर्हलोपः। U.S.U. V-23, U.S.N. V-28, U.S.Sk. V-23, D.P. III-
53.
नहेर्लोपश्च। U.S.S. V-22.
303. महेश्च। U.S.S. V-23, U.S.N. V-29, D.P. III-54. Omitted in
U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
304. शीङो ह्रस्वश्च। U.S.U. V-24, U.S.Sk. V-24.
...निद् ह्रस्वश्च। U.S.S. V-24, U.S.N. V-30, D.P. III-55.
305. शाखा। U.S.S. V-25, U.S.N. V-31.
वृक्षावयवे आ च। D.P. III-56. Omitted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
306. माङः ऊखो मय् च। U.S.U. V-25, U.S.S. V-25, U.S.Sk. V-25.
माङ उखः। U.S.N. V-32.
माङ उखा। D.P. III-57.
307. कलिगलिभ्यां फगस्योच्च। U.S.U. V-26, U.S.Sk. V-26.
कलेः फगस्योच्च। गलस्य। U.S.S. V-27-28. U.S.N. V-33-34, D.P.
VII-13-14.
308. अच् तस्य जङ्घ च। U.S.U. V-31, U.S.N. V-39, U.S.Sk. V-31.
तस्य... च। U.S.S. V-33.
जने को...। D.P. III-70.
309. लूञो मनिन्। U.S.S. V-34, U.S.N. V-40.
...मनिप्। D.P. VI-83. Omitted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
310. क्लिशेरब्ललोपश्च। U.S.S. V-35.
...अन्तो लोपश्च। U.S.U. V-33, U.S.N. V-41, U.S.Sk. V-33.
...अन्तोपश्च। D.P. IX-2.
311. चीकयतेराद्यन्तविपर्ययश्च। U.S.U. V-36, U.S.Sk. V-36. Omitted in
U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
312. पचिमच्योरिच्च। U.S.U. V-37.
...उपधायाः। U.S.Sk. V-37. Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
313. जनेररष्ट च। U.S.U. V-38, U.S.Sk. V-38.
...ष्ठश्च। U.S.N. V-45.
...रठश्च। U.S.S. V-39.
...रठः। D.P. VIII-98.
314. वचिमनिभ्यां चिच्च। U.S.U. V-39, U.S.Sk. V-39.
...चिद्वा। U.S.S. V-41, U.S.N. V-47, D.P. VIII-99.
315. ऊर्जिदृणातेरलचौ पूर्वपदान्त्यलोपश्च। U.S.U., V-40,
...पदान्त...। U.S.S. V-42, U.S.N. V-48, U.S.Sk. V-40.
उदि...। D.P. VIII-97.
316. हन्तेर्युन्नाद्यन्तयोर्धत्वतत्वे। U.S.U. V-42, U.S.Sk. V-42.
...युज्... च। U.S.S. V-44, U.S.N. V-50.
...च। D.P. VI-84.
317. क्रमिगमिक्षमिभ्यस्तुन् वृद्धिश्च। U.S.U. V-43, U.S.S. V-45, U.S.N. V-
51, U.S.Sk. V-43.
...तुमुन्...। D.P. VII-45.
318. गुहः कन्। U.S.S. V-46.
गृहेः कन्। U.S.N. V-52.
गुहेः कन्...। D.P. IX-105. Omitted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
319. करोतेर्द्वे च। U.S.S. V-47, U.S.N. V-53, D.P. VIII-103. Omitted
in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
320. विषेर्व्याप्तिकर्मणि। U.S.S. V-48, U.S.N. V-54, D.P. IX-20. Omit-
ted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
321. हयतेः कन्यन् हिर च। U.S.U. V-4.
...हिरश्च। U.S.S. V-49.
हिरच्। U.S.Sk. V-44.
...हिर्च। U.S.N. V-55, D.P. VIII-18.
322. कृजः पासः। U.S.U. V-45, U.S.S. V-50, U.S.Sk. V-45.
...पासञ्। U.S.N. V-56M D.P. IX-102.
323. कठिकचिभ्यामोरः। U.S.S. V-51. Cf. U.S.S. I-63.
...ओरच्। U.S.N. V-57. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
324. डो डट् च। U.S.N. V-58.
डनट्। U.S.S. V-53. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P.

325. जीर्यतेः क्रिन् रश्च वः। U.S.U. V-49, U.S.N. V-62. U.S.Sk. V-49, D.P.I-80.
...किद्रश्च पुग्वा...। U.S.S. V-56.
326. मव्यतेर्यलोपो मश्चापतुद् चालः। U.S.U. V-50, U.S.Sk. V-50, D.P. VIII-122.
...चापोप्तुद्...। U.S.S. V-57.
327. अवद्याऽवमाऽधमाऽवरिफाः कुत्सिते। U.S.U. V-54, U.S.Sk. V-54.
...अवमार्वरिफाः। U.S.N. V-65, D.P. X-20.
...अवमारवाः। U.S.S. V-60.
328. लीङ्रीडोर्हस्वश्च पुद् च तरौ श्लेषणकुत्सितयोः। U.S.U. V-55.
लीरीडोः... कुत्सनयोः। U.S.Sk. V-55.
लीरीडोः... श्लेषकुत्सनयोः। D.P. X-21.
...श्लेषकुत्सनयोः। U.S.S. V-62.
...पुक्तरौ... कुत्सनयोः। U.S.N. V-67,
329. क्लिशोरीच्चोपधायाः कन् लोपश्च लो नाम् च। U.S.U. V-56, U.S.Sk. V-56.
...री चोप... नाम्। U.S.S. V-63.
...री चोप...। U.S.N. V-68.
...नाम्। D.P. IX-1.
330. अश्नोतेराशुकर्मणि वरद् च। U.S.U. V-57. U.S.S. V-64, U.S.N. V-69, U.S.Sk. V-57.
...ईच्चोपधायाः। D.P. VIII-101.
331. अपिसर्तेरसुन्। D.P. IX-101.
...सर्तेरसिन्। U.S.S. V-66, U.S.N. V-71. Omitted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
332. सिचेः संज्ञायाम् हनुमौ कश्च। U.S.U. V-62, U.S.Sk. V-62.
...कन्नुंहौ च। U.S.S. V-67, U.S.N. V-72, D.P. IX-106.
333. हन्तेरन् ष च। D.P. VIII-104. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.N. and U.S.Sk.
334. प्राऽततेरन्। U.S.U. V-59, U.S.Sk. V-59, Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.
335. अमेस्तुद् च। U.S.U. V-60, U.S.Sk. V-60, Omitted in U.S.S., U.S.N. and D.P.

336. दहेर्गोलोपो दश्च न। U.S.U. V-61, U.S.Sk. V-61.
दहेर्लोपो...। D.P. III-67. Omitted in U.S.S. and U.S.N.
337. व्याडि घ्रातेश्च जातौ। U.S.U. V-63, U.S.S. V-68. U.S.N. V-73, U.S.Sk. V-63.
...घ्रातेर्जातौ कन्। D.P. VIII-102.
338. हन्तेरच् घुर च। U.S.U. V-64, U.S.Sk. V-64.
हन्तेर्घश्च। U.S.S. V-70.
हन्तेर्घर्च। U.S.N. V-75. Omitted in D.P.
339. ग्रहेरनिः। U.S.U. V-67, U.S.Sk. V-67, D.P. I-81.
...अणिः। U.S.S. V-71, U.S.N. V-76.
340. क्षमेरुपधालोपश्च। तरतेर्ङिः। U.S.U. V-65-66. U.S.Sk. V-65-66.
Omitted in U.S.S. U.S.N. and D.P.
341. पुरश्च। U.S.N. V-80. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.S., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
342. अर्तेर्भुनिक्। U.S.N. V-81, D.P. VI-82.
...मुक्षिन्। U.S.S. V-75. Omitted in U.S.U. and U.S.Sk.
343. मङ्गेरलच्। U.S.U. V-70.
मङ्गेरलच्। U.S.S. V-81, U.S.N. V-88, U.S.Sk. V-70, D.P. VIII-123.
344. मघेरच् नलोपश्च। U.S.S. V-76.
...अच्...। U.S.N. V-82. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
345. खनेर्डल्। U.S.S. V-77, U.S.N. V-83. Omitted in U.S.Sk. and D.P.
346. गविगृन्धुर्दोर्वः। U.S.S. V-78.
...धृजो। U.S.N. V-84. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
347. दन्भेः सीकन् मक् च। U.S.S. V-79.
दम्भेस्सिन्... U.S.N. V-85. Omitted in U.S.N., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
348. दभेरुभिहुगुश्चोपधायाः। U.S.N. V-86. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.S., U.S.Sk. and D.P.
349. दिवेर्ङिक्। U.S.S. V-80,
दिवेर्ङिक्। U.S.N. V-87. Omitted in U.S.U., U.S.Sk. and D.P.

THE POST-PĀṆINIAN UṆĀDI-SŪTRAS

Introduction

The Post-Pāṇinian systems of Sanskrit grammar were composed in a bid not only to make Sanskrit grammar easier but in some cases more comprehensive also. None of these systems has been able to excel the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, though the grammarians tried their level best to infuse adequacy into the works on Sanskrit grammar which were composed by them to suit the demand of a particular age. About twelve Post-Pāṇinian schools came into existence which are as follows¹ :-

- (1) The Kātantra School
- (2) The Cāndra School
- (3) The Jainendra School
- (4) The Śākaṭāyana School
- (5) The Bhojīya School
- (6) The Haima School
- (7) The Mugdhabodha School
- (8) The Sārasvata School
- (9) The Saupadma School
- (11) The Harināmāmṛta School
- (12) The Prabodha Prakāśa of Balarāma Pañcānana.

In this chapter, the uṇādi-sūtras that belong to the Kātantra, Cāndra, Bhojīya, Haima and Sārasvata Schools of Sanskrit grammar have been taken up for a study. The uṇādi-sūtras of the other minor schools lack the requisite characteristics and the protagonists of these minor systems, which have now become

outdated, have named a group of certain rules as uṇādi-sūtras, which could easily have been incorporated into the proper sections on the primary affixes in their works.

The Uṇādi-sūtras in the minor schools of Sanskrit grammar

The Saṁkṣiptasāra of Kramadīśvara represents the Jaumara School of Sanskrit grammar. It seems to have been written before the time of Kaiyaṭa or Hemacandra¹. The title indicates that it was an abridgement of some larger grammar. The work is divided into seven pādas, the eighth dealing with Prakrit which was added later². The uṇādi-sūtras form the second pāda of the fourth adhyāya. There are 180 sūtras which, barring four or five, prescribe the regular words of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. These sūtras could have been included in the kṛdanta-section, as they deal with other than the uṇādi-words.

The Supadma-vyākaraṇa of Padmanābha (1375 A.D.)³ also contains 41 uṇādi-sūtras which bear the impression of the uṇādi-sūtras of the Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa⁴. These follow a peculiar plan of arrangement. This uṇādi-section is divided into two chapters, the first containing the affixes that end in vowels and the second containing those that end in consonants. They are all arranged alphabetically. He has written a commentary on these sūtras in which he follows Ujjvaladatta⁵.

The Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa (1600 A.D.) contains only eight uṇādi-sūtras which deserve little attention. The uṇādi-sūtras of the other Post-Pāṇinian Schools except those which have been taken up for discussion in this chapter are not available⁶. Nonetheless the importance of the uṇādi-sūtras is well corroborated by the fact that all the Post-Pāṇinian Schools of Sanskrit grammar

1. Dictionary, p. 374
2. Systems, p.109.
3. Ibid., p.III.
4. उणादयो बहुलम् । SP., 4-2-1
क्रादिभ्य उण् । Ibid., 4-2-2.
मङ्गेरत्त्वं । Ibid., 4-2-3.
5. Systems, p. 112.
6. Vide Itihāsa, pp. 214-223.

1. Saini, R.S., The Post-Pāṇinian Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, Delhi, 2000.

have, at least, made a mention of the uṇādi-sūtras and that some of them have given them a due treatment, as the uṇādi-words did not cease to have linguistic importance. Even the grammars of Pali-Prakrit could not resist the temptation of mentioning the uṇādi-sūtras.¹

The Kātantra School

Introduction : The Kātantra or the Kālāpaka or the Kaumāra Vyākaraṇa is not so comprehensive as the work of the great sage Pāṇini, which, of course, seems to have been challenged by it. It omits altogether the rules of the Vedic formations and accent.

The authorship of this work is still to be conclusively decided. It is said that Śarvavarman propitiated Lord Kārtikeya with whose blessing he composed a small grammar at the instance of King Sātavāhana about whom there has been in vogue the popular anecdote 'modakam dehi'. S.K.Belvalkar says that the Kātantra grammar might have been written in 100 A.D.,² if this Sātavāhana is the same as the Sātavāhana of the Andhra dynasty.

Ambiguity still envelops the form and nature of the Kātantra grammar. Mīmāṃsaka³ says that Śarvavarman summarised the Kāśakṛtsna grammar into the Kātantra grammar along with the kṛdantas which were written by Kātyāyana.⁴ The work is divided into four parts : (i) sandhi-prakaraṇa, (ii) nāma-prakaraṇa, (iii) ākhyāta-prakaraṇa, (iv) kṛt-prakaraṇa.

A careful study of the work tells us that the fourth part that goes under the name of the kṛt-prakaraṇa was tacked on to this work by a later hand. It is Durgasiṃha who ascribes the kṛt-prakaraṇa to Kātyāyana. Whatever may be the case, nothing conclusive can be said except that it is a later addition to the original sūtra-pāṭha.⁵

1. सुत्त-धातु-गणोष्वादि नामलिङ्गानुशासनम् ।
यस्स तिठ्ठति जिह्मगो सो व्याकरणकेसरी॥

Pāli Vyākaraṇa Kā Itihāsa, p.600.

2. Systems, p. 82, fn.

3. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 511.

4. वृक्षादिवदमी रूढा कृतिना न कृता कृतः।

कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धप्रतिबुद्धये ॥ B.K.U., Intro. p. xiii.

5. Systems, p. 85.

Characteristics of the Uṇādi-sūtras of the Kātantra School

In the treatment of the uṇādi-sūtras, the author followed the same arrangement as is seen in the Pañcapādī but the nature of the composition of the sūtras is different. The technical terms and devices are different from those adopted in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. The popular dictum of brevity is not followed here as there is seen a tendency to present the rules of grammar in the easiest possible form. The difference of affixes from those of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras also exists. The three hundred and ninety-nine Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras enjoin 235 affixes while in the commentary of Ujjvaladatta the affixes number 325.¹ The uṇādi-words derived by the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras number about 1020. The sūtras have been divided into six chapters, which contain serially 58, 59, 67, 70, 67, 68 sūtras. A list of the uṇādi-affixes in the Kātantra grammar is as follows: aṭha, aka, aṅga, aṅka, aṅ, aṅguk, aṅgi, an, ala, adi, ayu, ani, anya, atra, ata, atha, asa, arak, apa, athi, ali, ati, asun, asuḍ, avak, an, asram, ata, aya, ara, aliñ, atik, aśa, ana, aha, adhi, am, ālañ, ānaka, āṇaka, āyya, āra, āgū, ānuk, āṭak, ānya, āśa, āya, āva, āl, āt, itnu, iti, ika, ina, isi, ira, i, itra, ita, ini, ina, in, ik, ila, īci, īṣa, īra, īti, īna, iṣṭha, uṇ, uṣya, uṣa, u, uti, us, uni, unta, una, uli, utra, usi, uk, uri, r, ṛn, ṛk, o, ol, ka, kapa, kara, kana, kaṇa, karaka, kanasi, kala, kakha, kani, kala, kāla, kika, ki, kiṣya, kila, kina, kiśa, kira, kīta, kir, kuk, kuna, kuṣa kor, kta, kva, kvip, kvi, kthi, kri, kti, kna, kṣa, kman, kha, ga, gak, ghuṇa, ghmak, ghuk, niti, cik, cha, ha, tat, ṭimak, ṭiṣa, ṭitakan, ṭha, ḍa, ḍat, ḍi, ḍu, ḍuta, ḍo, ḍak, ḍos, ḍora, ḍata, ḍadi, ḍim, nini, tun, tyuk, taka, tana, tika, ta, ti tati, tan, tada, tya, thak, thak, thik, tri, trak, tra, dai, da, damak, dhuk, dhu, dhik, dhani, na, nak, nu, ni, nī nyak, pa, pak, pasa, bala, bha, man, madik, ma, mak, mañ, mi, miniñ, mya, maka, ya, yu, yuk, rak, ru, ruk, ri, ripha, lila, valañ, vala, va, vāra, vani, śak, śu, śuka, ṣṭran, sarak, suk, sma, sya, sara, sak, sa, snak, sanak, si, sik, hak, hi.

A good many affixes have been borrowed from the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras, while others seem to be an intelligent concoction in

1. U.S.U., p. 2.

accordance with the idea hinted at in the kārikā of Patañjali.¹ The first four chapters present a poor show when they are screened in comparison with the last two chapters which really fulfil the purpose meant for the uṇādi-sūtras. The last two chapters prescribe no such irregular formations as we frequently come across in the first four chapters. Some novelty is not ruled out in the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras. Sometimes a single affix added to a single verbal root in the Pañcapādī is prescribed to be affixed to more than one root.² The irregularly formed words 'sarva'³ and 'dalmi'⁴ of the Pañcapādī are enunciated as regular formations in the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras. So easily accessible flexibilities show that any kind of whimsical twist can be given to the uṇādi-sūtras. It does not seem out of place to question why the Post-Pāṇinian promulgators of the independent systems of Sanskrit grammar did not include all these affixes in the kṛdantas without any specification.

Though the Kātantra grammar was considered to be a challenge to the then-prevailing Pāṇinian Aṣṭādhyāyī, yet it failed to present any worthwhile improvement in its uṇādi-sūtras. The sūtras (K.U. III-14 and IV-28) are a tame reproduction of the sūtras of the Pañcapādī.⁵

The anubandhas of the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras do not seem to be so significant as those of the Pañcapādī from accentuation point of view. There are occasions where the anubandhas are, of course, meant for accent, samprasāraṇa, absence of guṇa and lengthening of a vowel. The anubandhas 'ṭ' and 'k' are not seen in these sūtras which have been purported to determine the place

Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtra 'lakṣermuṭ ca'¹ has a different form in the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras.² The prevention of gunation has been enjoined by the technical term 'yaṇvat'³ though at places the indicatory letter 'k' for the prevention of guṇa has also been used.⁴ The long sūtras of the Pañcapādī which prescribe irregular formations are respresented by their first word in the Kātantra.⁵ The Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras (II-15 and III-14) show that they have been deliberately meddled with.⁶ Unlike the Pañcapādī, the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras use both 'ḍ' and 'd' for the elision of the 'ṭi'.⁷

The uṇādi-word 'salila' of the Pañcapādī has been regulated by the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtra (VI-39)⁸ in a different manner. The Kātantra uṇādi-sūtra (IV-29) is another interesting example of the same kind.

These uṇādi-sūtras do not seem to enjoy an independent status. Rather they have been unduly influenced by the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras which are comparatively more well-knit. The Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras pale into insignificance when compared with the

1. U.S.U., IV-160.
2. लक्षेर्मोऽन्तश्च। K.U., III-35.
3. कृतिमिदिलितिभ्यो यणवत्। Ibid., III-23.
इणो यणवत्। Ibid., III-26.
4. ककारो यणवद्भावार्थः तेनागुणत्वम्। K.U.D., IV-2. See also K.U., I-52, II-3, 10, 14, etc.
5. छित्वादयः। Ibid., II-50.
छित्त्वचत्वरधीवरपीवरमीवरचीवरतीवरनीवरगह्वरकद्वरसंयद्वराः। U.S.U., III-1.
अजिरशिशिरशिशिलस्थिरस्फिरस्थविरखदिराः। Ibid., I-54.
अजिरादयः। K.U., I-24.
6. Cf. इः सर्वधातुभ्यः। Ibid., III-14.
and सर्वधातुभ्य इन्। U.S.U., IV-117.
हृक्भ्यामेणुः। K.U., II-15.
and हृक्भ्यामेणुः। U.S.U., II-1
7. रातेर्देः। दकारोऽन्त्यस्वरादिलोपार्थः। K.U.D., II 27.
8. Cf. सचेः लिलश्च चस्य लुक्। K.U., VI-39 and सलिकल्यनिमहिमडिमण्डिशण्डि-
पिण्डितुण्डिकुकिभूभ्य इलच्।

Pañcapādī. There are many Kātantra and Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras

1. कार्याद् विद्यादन्बन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु। MBH., on Pa. 3.3.1.

2. Cf. अशेः सरन्। U.S.U., III-70.

मद्यसिवसिवासिभ्यः सरः। K.U., IV-33.

3. Cf. सर्वनिघृष्वरिष्वलष्वशिवपद्वद्ब्रह्मेष्व अतन्त्रे। U.S.U., I-153.

सर्तेर्वः। K.U., III-61.

4. Cf. दल्मिः। U.S.U., IV-49.

निदलिभ्यां मिः। K.U., III-31

5. U.S.U., IV-158 and IV-117.

of the augments in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. This is why the

which look similar.¹

The Commentary of Durgasimha

Introduction : The commentary of Durgasimha was the earliest systematic attempt to explain and exemplify the Kātantra grammar so as to get across its purpose, without running counter to its original object of ease and simplicity. S.K. Belvalkar says that this Durgasimha should be distinguished from Durga, Durgātma, Durgācārya and Durgasimha, the author of the Durga-

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| 1. The Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras | The Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras |
| अतेस्त्रिः । K.U., VI-27. | अदेस्त्रिन् । U.S.U., IV-68. |
| अदि भुवो डुतः । Ibid., IV-25. | अदि भुवो डुतच् । Ibid., V-I. |
| अनुनासिकाङ्ङः । Ibid., I-37. | जमन्ताङ्ङः । Ibid., I-113. |
| इणो यण्वत् । Ibid., II-26. | इणः कित् । Ibid., III-153. |
| अविमहोष्टिषः । Ibid., I-20. | अविमहोष्टिषच् । Ibid., I-46. |
| इः सर्वधातुभ्यः । Ibid., III-14. | सर्वधातुभ्यः इन् । Ibid., IV-117. |
| उल्वादयः । Ibid., III-62. | उल्वादयः । Ibid., IV-95. |
| कृके वचो घुण् । Ibid., I-4. | कृके वचः कः । Ibid., I-6. |
| खज्जेराकः । Ibid., III-39. | खजेराकः । Ibid., IV-13. |
| चन्द्रे मातेः । Ibid., IV-57. | चन्द्रे मो डित् । Ibid., IV-227. |
| छित्त्वरदयः । Ibid., II-50. | छित्त्वरछत्त्वरधीवरपीवरमीवरचीवर
तीवरनीवरगह्वरकट्त्वरसंयद्वराः । Ibid., III 1. |
| जञ्वादयः । Ibid., III-39. | जञ्वादयः । Ibid., IV-102. |
| दूषेरिकः । Ibid., III-45. | कृषिदूषिभ्यामीकन् । Ibid., IV-16. |
| धृषेर्धिष च । Ibid., II-36. | धृषेर्धिष च संज्ञायाम् । Ibid., II-82. |
| मकुरदुर्दुर्विधुरासुराः । Ibid., I-18. | मकुरदुर्दुर् । Ibid., I-41. |
| मुहेर्मूर्च । Ibid., IV-17. | मुहेः खो मूर्च । Ibid., V-22. |
| सर्वधातुभ्यः ष्टन् । Ibid., IV-39. | सर्वधातुभ्यः ष्टन् । Ibid., IV-158. |
| सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन् । Ibid., IV-28. | सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन् । Ibid., IV-188. |
| हृकृञ्भ्यामेणुः । Ibid., II-6. | कृहृभ्यामेणुः । Ibid., II-I. |
| पुषो यण्वत् । Ibid., IV-35. | पुषः कित् । Ibid., IV-4. |
| वदेरान्यः प्रशंसायाम् । Ibid., V-10. | वदेरान्यः । Ibid., III-104. |
| सख्यादयः । Ibid., IV-9. | समाने ख्यः स चोदात्तः । Ibid., IV-136. |
| वातप्रमीः । Ibid., III-36. | वातप्रमीः । Ibid., IV-I. |
| भुजिमृडोः युक्त्युक्तौ । Ibid., II-34. | भुजिमृड्भ्यां युक्त्युक्तौ । Ibid., III-21. |
| सर्तेरयूः । Ibid., II-32. | सर्तेरयूः । Ibid., III-22. |

simha's vṛtti¹. The statement of Haraprasāda Śāstrī² that the Kātantra school borrowed the uṇādi-sūtras from the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa can only be justified by the view that Durgasimha, later on, appended them to the Kātantra grammar though explicitly he attributed them to Kātyāyana. Mīmāṃsaka has tried to identify Durgasimha with Durgācārya who wrote the famous commentary on the Nirukta of Yāska, without giving a proper reason why, after all, he changed his name³. So far as his chronology is concerned Belvalkar says that he should be placed in the eighth century⁴.

Assesment : With the propitiatory remarks to Sarasvatī, he begins the commentary saying that the uṇādi-sūtras will be elucidated for the sake of children's understanding.⁵ This is why he observes simplicity and straightforwardness in explaining the derivation of the uṇādi-words. He gives roots belonging to the Kātantra-dhātu-pāṭha. Many technical terms of the Kātantra grammar have also been used in this commentary. For instance, 'kārite' means when a causative affix follows. Two more technical terms 'ijvadbhāvārtha' and 'yaṇvadbhāvārtha' which mean 'vrddhi' and 'absence of guṇa' respectively,⁶ are also used. The controversial uṇādi-word 'vidhura' has been derived from the root √vidha in the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras while in the Daśapādī⁷, it has been derived from root √vyatha, the 'tha' of which is to be replaced by 'dha'. But it has been rejected by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita⁸.

The sūtras which are of an abridged form of the uṇādi-sūtras of the Pañcapādī are elucidated by the commentator by adding an exhaustive list of the similar words along with the etymological remarks. On the sūtra 'apaṣṭhvādayaḥ' (K.U. I-15), he has added at least fourteen words with a remark that other similar words

1. System, p. 88
2. Catalogue, preface, p. xiv.
3. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p.516.
4. Systems, p.88.
5. नमस्कृत्य गिरं भूरिशब्दसंतानकारणम्।
उणादयोऽभिधास्यन्ते बालव्युत्पत्तिहेतवे॥ K.U.D., p.1.
6. णकार इज्वद्भावार्थः । Ibid, p.1.
कानुबन्ध यण्वद्भावाद् अगुणार्थः । Ibid., p.5
7. व्यथेः सम्प्रसारणं धः किच्च । D.P., VIII-22.
8. P.M., p.752, See also U.S.S., I-39.

should be looked for¹. Unlike Ujjvaladatta, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, etc., Durgasimha refrains from quoting from the lexicons and classical works. He does not get involved in the grammatical intricacies. He lacks boldness at controversial spots. When he deals with the irregular formations, he usually advises that the grammatical functions which are not enjoined by the grammar should be accounted for by the term 'nīpātana' given to them². Sometimes he utilises the traditional characteristic 'bahulam' for this purpose. Taking advantage of the traditional view about the uṇādi-sūtras, he does not explain the process of the derivation of the uṇādi-words and simply enlists them along with their roots. He also makes the most of the characteristic nature of the uṇādi-sūtras³. He also alludes to the views of others. His etymological explanations⁴ add to the utility of the Kātantra uṇādi-sūtras. They are interesting. Durgasimha refers to seven 'sautra'-roots and two daṇḍaka-roots.⁵

1. अपष्टुदुष्टुसुष्टुहरिदुमितदुशतदुशङ्कुधनुमयुपशुदेवयुजटायुकुमारयुमृगयवः। K.U.D., p.4.
एवमन्येऽनुसर्तव्याः। Ibid., p.5.
2. लक्षणेन यदसिद्धं तत्सर्वं निपातनात्सिद्धम्। Ibid., I-9.
3. अनयोः गुणः न भवति औणादिकत्वात्। Ibid., II-34.
4. नरके पततः प्राणिनः धरति धर्मः पुण्यम्। Ibid. I-53.
भीयते अस्मिन् भीमः भयानकः। Ibid., I-58.
प्रियन्ते क्षुद्रजन्तवः स्पर्शनास्य इति मरुत् वायुः। Ibid., I-30.
आखुभ्यो गृहमवतीति औतुः विडालः। Ibid., I-26.
गीतेन ह्रियते हरिणः मृगः। Ibid., II-21.
सर्पात् बिभेति भेकः मण्डूकः। Ibid., II-57.
क्रियां कर्तुं तरति शक्नोतीति तरुणः। Ibid., II-60.
स्तृणाति आच्छादयति लज्जया आत्मानमिति स्त्री महिला। Ibid., IV-36.
शेते योनौ शेफः। Ibid., IV-64.
संसदि निःशङ्कं वदति इति वदान्यः। Ibid., V-10.
सप्तस्वरान् वेति गच्छतीति वीणा परिवदिनी। Ibid., II-54.
पुत्रार्थं रजोऽवतीति अविः रजस्वला। Ibid., II-34.
लक्षयति दर्शयति पुण्यकर्माणं लक्ष्मीः। Ibid., III-35.
वातं प्रमातीति वातप्रमीः वातवाहनो मृगः। Ibid., III-36.
5. 'पश' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., I-15.
'जु' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., II-23.
'धम' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., II-43.
'लत' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., III-23.

Contd

The Uṇādi-sūtras of the Kātantra grammar do not show any remarkable novelty. They are virtually an abridgement of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras with modifications and adaptations essential to the technique adopted in the Kātantra system of grammar.

The Cāndra School

Introduction : Vopadeva, who wrote the Mugdhabodha-vyākaraṇa and Kavikalpadruma, has made a mention of Candra as one of the eight important grammarians¹. The system of grammar promulgated by him who was a famous Buddhist grammarian is known as the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa, in which well-knit brevity is the main feature. It has six chapters. According to some scholars, Candragomin, being a Buddhist did not devote any sūtras to the study of the Vedic literature and accent, while Mīmāṃsaka says that the author must have written chapters on Vedic literature and accent². Candra retains on the one hand most of the artificial terms of Pāṇini's grammar such as 'laṭ', 'liṭ', 'luṭ' and others and on the other hand he discards a large number of other terms, many of which have been found so useful and appropriate that they have been adopted even by the European grammarians. From 'guṇa' and 'vṛddhi', he goes back to 'aden' and 'ādaic' respectively, from samprasāraṇa to 'igyaṇaḥ' or 'yaṇa ik'. For upasarga, he always uses the term 'prādi'; for sarvanāma 'sarvādi', etc. In this manner we find no such technical terms as are used in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. This is why this grammar has been given the designation 'asamjñakam vyākaraṇam', that is 'the grammar without technical terms'.

'मर्क' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। K.U.D., III-58.

'पिञ्ज' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., III-60.

'रश' इति सौत्रोऽयं धातुः। Ibid., IV-6.

'कदि क्रदि' दण्डको धातुः। Ibid., I-6.

'अण रण' इति दण्डको धातुः। Ibid., I-6.

1. इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः॥

पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः॥

2. Itihāsa, Vol.I, p.523. and see also: सम्पूर्णशब्देन वैदिकानामपि शब्दानां लक्षणमिहोपनिबद्धमिति विस्पष्टमेव प्रतीयते। Cāndra-vyākaraṇa of Candragomin, ed. K.C. Chatterji, pt. I, p.1 fn.

Candragomin has not given any account of himself. The later grammarians who made the best use of his grammar in preparing their own systems do not throw any light on the life of Candragomin except that he studied the Mahābhāṣya¹, revived it in many branches and wrote a new system of grammar, that is, the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. All that we know about his life is mainly based on the references scattered in the works of the later grammarians. Kielhorn has proved that Vāmana and Jayāditya made a diligent use of the vyākaraṇa of Candra without making a mention of the latter. He remarks "Tradition tells us that the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa is older than the Kāśikā-vṛtti".² S.K.Belvalkar says that there is a reference about the victory of 'Jarta' over the 'Hunas'. This victory over the 'Hunas' can refer either to their temporary defeat by Skandagupta soon after 465 A.D. or to their final expulsion by Yaśodharman in 544 A.D. Consequently it seems plausible to date Candra at least two generations before the author of the Vākyapadīya³.

Characteristics of the Uṇādi-sūtras of Candra

The uṇādi-sūtras in the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa number 328 and are divided into three chapters, which serially contain 95, 119 and 114 sūtras. The sūtras have been arranged according to the final letters of the uṇādi-words. The first chapter contains the uṇādi-affixes ending in vowels except 'a'. The second chapter treats of the affixes ending in 'a' and consonants from 'ka' to 'ya'. The third chapter deals with the affix 'kvip' and affixes ending in the remaining consonants.

The uṇādi-sūtras of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa are very significant. Though they are similar in many respects to the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras, yet they possess novelty of their own. They do not

seem to be so loose as the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. These sūtras had a remarkable impact on the uṇādi-sūtras of subsequent systems which were written by Hema, Bhoja, Ramāśrama, etc. The technique of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa is also discerned in these subsequent uṇādi-sūtras. The Pāṇinian anubandhas are also visible in them¹.

These sūtras are an intelligent improvement on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras, from where some sūtras have been reproduced verbatim by Candra². The sūtras are easy of comprehension and are not stretched unnecessarily. They have not been tampered with in such a manner that they may seem forced formulations. The Pāṇinian sūtras even allowed Whitney to term them as the less regular affixes. It is not the case with the uṇādi-sūtras of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. They bear nothing ungrammatical. They fulfil all requisite qualifications of a grammar. The Cāndra uṇādi-sūtras, being so compact, invite our attention to the query why he separated them from his grammar proper. It seems that the great grammarian did not want to aberrate from the reconciliatory path adopted by Pāṇini. He also refers to his own uṇādi-sūtras³ as Pāṇini does in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. Moreover, the words enjoined by the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras are also found in the Cāndra-uṇādi-sūtras, with the exception of a few words. Unreasonably forced derivations of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras have been intelligently enunciated as irregular derivations⁴. He tries to avoid grammatical

1. यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः।
काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः।
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः॥ Vākyapadīya, II-480-81.
2. Kielhorn, F., 'The Chāndra Vyākaraṇa and the Kāśikā-vṛtti' Indian Anti-quary, Vol. XV, pp. 183-85.
3. Systems, p.59.

1. C.U., I-1, I-7, I-11, I-19, I-23, I-36, I-42, etc.

2. धान्ये नित्। Ibid., I-7.

वलिफलेर्गुक् च। Ibid., I-11.

सृजेरसुम् च। Ibid., I-19.

दामाभ्यां नु। Ibid., I-27.

सर्तेरयूः। Ibid., I-33.

भ्रमेर्दूः। Ibid., I-42.

लक्षेर्मुट् च। Ibid., I-89.

गतेर्द्वैः। Ibid., I-91.

गमेर्दोः। Ibid., I-92.

3. उणादयः। C.V., I-3-1.

4. सख्यादयः। C.U., I-60. समाने ख्यः स चोदात्तः। U.S.U., I-136.

किङ्किणीकादयः। Ibid., II-19. चङ्कणः कङ्कण च। Ibid., IV-18.

complexities. He has not made a long list of irregularly formed uṇādi-words as is seen in the Pañcapādī. He takes the first word of the lengthy Pañcapādī Uṇādi-sūtras and transforms it into a sūtra with the addition of 'ādayah' to it.¹ It is, indeed, becoming of him to observe simplicity and straightforwardness.

Candrācārya uses the ablative case for the upapada² which is defined by Pāṇini by the sūtra 'tatropapadam saptamīstham'³ purely in the context of the primary suffixes, that is, 'kṛdantas'.

Notwithstanding the fact that the uṇādi-sūtras of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa have novelty in arrangement and composition, they have their source, at least, in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. A comparative study of uṇādi-sūtras belonging to both the Pāṇinian and Cāndra schools bears out this view⁴.

The sūtras (C.U., I-17, II-10) are examples to the effect that Candra had also introduced adaptations and modifications of his own. For instance, he has used the term 'yaṇa' for the samprasāraṇa

1. शङ्क्वादयः। C.U., I-21
धेन्वादयः। Ibid., I-31.
जत्रादयः। Ibid., I-40.
पित्रादयः। Ibid., I-50, etc.
2. किंजराभ्यां श्रिणः। Ibid., I-3.
कृकाद् वचः कश्च। Ibid., I-4.
नेरज्येः। Ibid., I-12.
नेरीच्च। Ibid., I-59.
अतो भुवो डुतच्। Ibid., II-46.
अवाद् भृजः। C.U., II-55.
चन्द्रान्माडो डित्। Ibid., III-99.
पयः पुरसो धाजः। Ibid., III-97.
3. Pa., 3.1.92.
4. कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्यः उण्। C.U., I-1.
दूसनिजनिचरिचटितलिभ्यो जुण्। C.U., I-2.
किंजराभ्यां श्रिणः। C.U., I-3.
कृकाद् वचः कश्च। Ibid., I-4.
अणः। Ibid., I-6.

- कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्यः उण्। U.S.U., I-1.
दूसनिजनिचरिचटितलिभ्यो जुण्। U.S.U., I-2.
किंजराभ्यां श्रिणः। U.S.U., I-4.
कृके वचः कश्च। Ibid., I-6.
अणश्च। Ibid., I-8.

Contd.....

which is used in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras.¹

The word 'chandasi' is absent in these uṇādi-sūtras, as if Candra is not concerned with the Vedic words. On the contrary he uses those anubandhas which are used exclusively for the purpose of accentuation in Pāṇini's grammar. The sūtras (C.U.I-7-67)² enjoin the 'nit' affixes which incur accent on the first syllable of the word. He, however, seems to be concerned with the Vedic words also. The word 'samjñāyām' which is used in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras is not found in these uṇādi-sūtras. Reference to the ancient grammarians is also absent. The author does not give any allusion to the meaning of the word in the sūtra itself, whereas a Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtra (I-III) says that the affix 'aṅga' should be appended to the root 'pat' and the word thus formed would mean 'a bird'. Candrācārya does not allude to the connotation of the words in that manner³.

In short, the Cāndra uṇādi-sūtras are an intelligent abridgement of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras and they have excluded everything far-fetched, useless, uncontextual and have left nothing important and indispensable so far as the sphere of the grammar of a language is concerned.

- धान्ये नित्। C.U., I-7.
नेरज्येः। Ibid., I-12.
कृग्रोरुच्च। Ibid., I-15.
सृजेरसुम् च। Ibid., I-19.
हृक्रोरेणुः। Ibid., I-27.
रातेडैः। Ibid., I-91.
गमेडोः। Ibid., I-92.
भ्रमेडूः। Ibid., I-42.
लक्षेर्मुट् च। Ibid., I-89.
मुहेर्मूर्च। Ibid., II-24.

1. स्यन्दो यणः इग्घश्च। Ibid., I-17.
स्यमो यणः ईच्च। Ibid., II-10.
2. धान्ये नित्। Ibid., I-7.
अशेर्नित्। Ibid., I-67.
3. पतेरङ्गच् पक्षिणि। U.S.U., I-118. It also means 'the sun'.
पतेरङ्गच्। C.U., II-27.

- धान्ये नित्। U.S.U., I-10.
नावज्येः। Ibid., I-18.
कृग्रोरुच्च। Ibid., I-25.
सृजेरसुम् च। Ibid., I-16.
कृहृभ्यामेणुः। Ibid., II-1.
रातेडैः। Ibid., I-66.
गमेडोः। Ibid., I-67.
भ्रमेश्च इः। Ibid., I-68.
लक्षेर्मुट् च। Ibid., I-60.
मुहेः खो मूर्च। Ibid., V-22.
स्यन्देः सम्प्रसारणं घश्च। Ibid., I-12.
स्यमेः सम्प्रसारणं च। Ibid., I-12.
धान्ये नित्। Ibid., I-10.
अशेर्नित्। Ibid., I-53.

Bhoja's School

Introduction : The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja is an important grammatical treatise in Sanskrit. It ranks next to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini¹. That it was a popular work is evident from the lavish quotations from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyāsarvasva*. With the advent of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, it gradually lost its popularity.

Bhoja was the king of Paramāra dynasty. He ruled over Dhārā in 1100 A.D.². He had great regard for scholars. He discussed various topics with them. He gathered material from every source to prepare this voluminous grammatical work. Besides, he is said to have written works on literature, literary criticism, grammar, *nighaṇṭu*, *dharmaśāstra*, astronomy, astrology, yoga, *vaidyaka*, Śaiva philosophy, *dhanurveda* and music³.

A careful look at the plan of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* informs us that he set himself compiling this work with an intention to incorporate into the text, all the improvements and modifications suggested by Kātyāyana, Patañjali and others with regard to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He came out with flying colours in this coveted effort. Though his main concern was classical Sanskrit, yet he incorporated the rules related to the Vedic literature. This work is indeed a wonderful recast of the sūtras of Pāṇini with an exhaustive addage of the 'iṣṭis', *vārttikas* and *paribhāṣās* in the form of sūtras. The inclusion of appendices to Sanskrit grammar into the body of his grammar shows that he felt the pulse of the time and accorded a due place to the grammatical accessories. He, rightly, intended to make the appendices compulsory for study. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* consists of eight *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* being divided into four *pādas*, exactly on the model of Pāṇini's work. The number of sūtras is 6421.

Characteristics of the Uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja

Unlike the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, which has the sūtra

'uṇādayo bahulam' (Pa. 3.3.1), but which does not contain the uṇādi-sūtras in its body, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* includes the uṇādi-sūtras in its text. They form the first three *pādas* of the second *adhyāya*. The uṇādi-affixes of Bhoja are as follows :

Atuc, atuc, amu, ayū, aru, akṣu, aki, ati, anti, athin, adhi, ani, atnic, alic, asi, agi, adi, abidi, adi, anic, asik, asun, aṅka, aviṅka, aṅgac, aghac, acac, aṅcac, anjac, ajak, aṭac, aṭhac, aṇḍa, atac, antac, atha, andan, andhac, adhac, ambac, abhac, ambhac, amac, ayan, athyak, atran, alak, ala, arak, avak, aśac, asac, ambusa, aha, akṣan, āku, ātuc, ātu, ānuk, āru, ālue, āguc, āti, ātṛkan, āka, ānak, āṭak, āgac, āṭak, ātac, āyak, āyya, āran, ālac, ālañ, āva, āśac, āṣa, āsa, āha, iṣṇuc, itnuc, i, it, iñ, iṇ ithi, igi, iti, inī, isi, iṅgak, icac, irac, itan, inac, inan, ipak, ibhac, iya, itra, īci, ī, īmnic, īnak, ītak, īta, ītan, īnac, īpa, īrac, īva, īṣan, īsac, uṇ, u, uru, unti, usi, unasī, ukan, uṅgac, ucan, uḍac, unta, undan, udan, udhak, unan, una, upak, umbak, ubha, umbhak, umak, urac, uran, utra, ulac, uśac, uṣan, urin, ūru, ū, ūka, ūtac, ūtak, ūthan, ūpac, ūma, ūran, ūra, ūlac, ūṣan, ūhak, ūha, ūcak, ṛn, ṛti, eṇu, elaka, etac, erak, evara, elac, aukulic, otac, ota, osa, okaha, ku, kaṅguc, katu, knu, krun, kū, kit, ki, ktin, kthin, kmin, krin, kṛthi, kanin, kvanip, kvin, kvip, kanasi, kan, ka, kikan, kīkan, ktikan, ktakan, kītan, kūtan, kthan, kindan, kakunda, kyu, kapan, kyap, kan, kara, kirac, karan, kālan, kilac, kalac, kmalac, kwan, klan, kha, khalac, gu, gan, gha, gara, ghara, ṇuṇ, cipuk, cik, caṭ, cak, chhak, jak, jara, jhara, ḍu, ṇu, ḍu, ḍai, ḍo, ḍau, ḍakhi, ḍikhi, ḍi, ṇi, ḍithi, ḍani, ḍavatu, ḍiti, ḍati, ḍimi, ḍikhi, ḍumsun, ḍos, ḍicac, ḍocac, ḍiṇṭan, ḍa, ṭhak, ḍa, ḍha, ḍṇa, ṇak, ḍutac, ḍukund, ḍimac, nālayīr, ṭisac, ḍisac, ṭisa, ṇvit, dākuk, tu, tun, duk, dhuk, nu, nuk, tyuk, ṭṛc, ṭṛn, tip, ti, ni, nit, dayi, trip, tadi, damik, dha, tan, than, thak, dan, na, tanan, tarac, tran, dara, nasak, bu, mi, malic, madik, manin, bhukṣnik, mi, pa, pan, phak, ba, bha, bhan, man, mak, balac, piśan, maṣak, māṣak, pāsa, bara, bhara, mara, yu, yus, luṭ, luk, ri, lik, liṇ, vin, vanip, vun, la, yuc, yun, ya, valan, valaṇ, va, rak, ran, sna, śun, ṣuk, sik, sik, hik, suk, syan, saran, ṣvarac, ṣṭran, salak, ṣivan, śa, ṣa, sa, ha.

These uṇādi-affixes number 26 more than we find in the *Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras* commented upon by Ujjvaladatta. Many

1. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ed. T.R.Cintamani, 1937, foreword, p. vii.

2. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xiii.

3. *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. xv-xvi.

affixes resemble those of the Pañcapādī and others seem to be Bhoja's own formulations.

The uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja are more comprehensive than all the available preceding uṇādi-sūtras. They number 795 and are divided into three pādas. Though the division of the uṇādi-sūtras does not seem sound, yet it bears a stamp of scientific organization as the 351 affixes have been arranged according to last letter of the derived word. The first pāda comprises 349 sūtras in which the derivation of all the words ending in the letters from 'akāra' to 'hakāra' has been enjoined. This is the biggest one. The second chapter consists of 255 sūtras which enjoin the formation of the words ending penultimately in the consonants from 'ka' to 'ma'. The third chapter contains only 191 sūtras out of which the sūtras from 1 to 189 enjoin all such words as end penultimately in the remaining consonants from 'yakāra' to 'hakāra'. This alphabetical arrangement is disturbed in the last two sūtras. This arrangement shows that Bhoja has drawn upon the sūtras of Candragomin who arranged the uṇādi-sūtras in the same manner differing at one spot where he includes the sūtras which enjoin all such words as end penultimately in the letters upto 'ya'. Had Bhoja done so, his last chapter on the uṇādi-sūtras would have assumed a very slim form. So Bhoja did what the symmetry of his voluminous treatise demanded.

The uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja reflect an evident influence of the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras as well as those of Candragomin. The technical terms with the help of which he enjoins derivation are similar to those of the Pañcapādī. Two peculiarities of the uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja are remarkable. One, that he has incorporated all the words which were enjoined by the sūtras of Pāṇini and which were in vogue at the time of Bhoja. Such words number about 2400. Whatever deficiency remained in these sūtras, had been made good by the famous commentator Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa. His comprehensive approach evinces that he must have studied carefully all the resources that could give him information about the uṇādi-words.

There are some strange constitutional diversifications in his uṇādi-sūtras. He, sometimes, compresses two or more uṇādi

sūtras of the Pañcapādī into one sūtra¹ with his own modifications.

1. The uṇādi- sūtras of Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa हरिमितकशतसुदुवः। 2-1-35	Uṇādi-sūtras of Ujjvaladatta हरिमितयोर्दुवः। I-35. शते च। I-36. अर्तेररूः। IV-79. कुटः किच्च। IV-80. अज्यतिभ्यां पादे च। IV-130. पादे च। IV-131. वृजिनाजिनकठिनादयः। II-47. अजेरज च। II-48. बहुलमन्यत्रापि। II-49. अत्तेः किदिच्च। II-51. वेपितुहोर्हस्वश्च। II-52. महेरिनण् च। II-56. ऋच्यलिङ्गिषालिदूषिकषिहृषिदृशि- मृडिवलिस्यम्यनिभ्यः कीकन्। 2-2-19
कूटचतिभ्यामरु। 2-1-99	कषिदूषिभ्यामीकन्। IV-16. अनिहृषिभ्यां किच्च। IV-17. ईषेः किद्धस्वश्च। IV-21. ऋजेश्च। IV-22. मृडः कीकत्कंकणौ। IV-24. अलीकादयश्च। IV-25. मृकणिजलिलबन्धिमल्लिभ्यः ऊकः। 2-2-27
अज्यतिभ्यां पादे च। 2-1-169	मृकणिभ्यामूकोकणौ। IV-39. बलेरूकः। IV-40. जृविशिबहिवसिमूजिरेवसाधिमसि- गडिमडिनन्दिभ्योऽन्तच् 2-2-138
वृजिनाजिनकठिनादयः। 2-2-194	जृविशिभ्यो झच्। III-126. रुहिनन्दिजोविप्राणिभ्यः षिदाशिषि। III-127. तृमूवहिवसिमसिसाधिगडिमण्डिजिनन्दिभ्यश्च। III-128. शीङ्शपिशमिगमिवन्दिबन्धिजोविप्राणयुप- सृष्टवसिभ्योऽथ। 2.2.158. शीङ्शपिरुगमिवञ्चिजोविप्राणिभ्योऽथः। III-113. उपसर्गे वसः। III-114. स्तुवो दीर्घश्च। III-25. षुश्यां निच्च। III-26. क्युभ्यां च। III-27. प्रथिचरिचलिकर्दिपृसृभ्यो मच्। 2-2-248
विपिनेरिणतुहिनमहिनादयः। 2-2-196	प्रथेमच्। V-68. चरेश्च। V-59. कलिकर्द्योरमः। IV-84. पीयेरूषन्। IV-76. गण्डेश्च। IV-78.
ऋच्यलिङ्गिषालिदूषिकषिहृषिदृशि- मृडिवलिस्यम्यनिभ्यः कीकन्। 2-2-19	जृपृकृर्मा जपोयिहन्यङ्गिगण्डिभ्यः ऊषन्। 2-3-166

Examples where Bhoja has divided a Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtra into more than one with his own modifications :

शीडापोर्हस्वश्च। S.K. 2-3-130 शेवायह्वजिह्वाग्रीवाष्वामीवाः। U.S.U. I-154.

यसेर्ह च। 2-3-131.

लिहेर्जिह च। 2-3-132.

Examples of the identical sūtras :

Bhoja's	Pañcapādī (Ujvaladatta)
2-1-5	I-5
2-1-6	I-6
2-1-8	I-8
2-1-9	I-9
2-1-11	I-12
2-1-18	I-17
2-1-23	I-24
2-1-57	II-1
2-1-64	I-73
2-1-90	II-22
2-1-152	IV-150
2-1-276	I-149
2-2-1	I-76
2-2-1	I-76
2-2-72	IV-101
2-2-115	I-III
2-2-145	V-I
2-2-152	II-3
2-2-241	I-132
2-2-246	I-137
2-3-34	III-132
2-3-54	I-43
2-3-70	III-72
2-3-106	I-110
2-3-157	I-43

Examples of the sūtras which are slightly different from those of the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras:

2-1-2 (S.K.)	I-3 (U.S.U.)
2-1-17	I-16
2-1-21	I-2
2-1-24	I-30
2-1-29	I-II
2-1-31	I-15
2-1-33	I-33
2-1-59	I-69
2-1-60	I-70
2-1-115	I-80
2-1-125	I-88
2-1-134	II-97
2-2-45	V-27
2-2-125	II-78
2-3-28	II-20
2-3-62	I-61

Sometimes he dissects one Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtra into several sūtras with his own novel amplifications. This comparison shows that Bhoja has borrowed much material from the Pañcapādī and Daśapādī uṇādi-sūtras. Sometimes he has been compelled to dissect one Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtra into many sūtras keeping in mind his own arrangement of the sūtras. For example, the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtra (III-49)¹ has been divided into four sūtras in the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,² only to make it suitable to his own alphabetical arrangement. While even the Daśapādī devotes the tenth chapter for miscellaneous words for fear of expansion, Bhoja does not intend to deviate from the method he has adopted in arranging the uṇādi-sūtras composed by him, that is, he does not pay so much attention to the roots as is seen in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. In other words he does not care whether the sense of the basic root is extended to the derived word or not. That is why he easily prescribes regulations for most of the uṇādi-words which are irregular formations in the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras³.

The Commentary of Daṇḍanātha

Introduction : Daṇḍanātha wrote the Hṛdayahāriṇī on the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa. T.R.Cintamani⁴, the editor of the uṇādi-

1. शकेरुनोन्तोन्त्युन्यः।
2. शकेरुनः। S.K. 2-2-204, शकेरुनिः। Ibid., 2-1-218.
शकेरुन्तिः। Ibid., 2-1-199, शकेरुन्तः। Ibid., 2-2-146.
3. वातप्रमः कित्। Ibid., 2-1-243, वातप्रमीः। U.S.U., IV-1.
नमे पश्च (नप्ता)। 2-1-140
नियः षुक् च (नेष्टा)। 2-1-143
त्विषेर्देवतायामितोऽच्च (त्वष्टा)। 2-1-147
हूपृथ्यामृत्वजि तृन्ननिट् च (होता पोता)।
2-1-142
भ्राजेश्च (भ्राता)। 2-1-137 नप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृहोतृपोतृभ्रातृजामातृमातृपितृदुहितृ।
जायां मिजः (जामाता)। 2-1-139 U.S.U. II-96
मानेलोपश्च (माता)। 2-1-136
पातेस्तृजिच्च (पिता)। 2-1-135
देहेरिट् किच्च (दुहिता)। 2-1-138
नीदलिभ्यां मिः। 2-1-218 दल्मिः। IV-47.
अमे वरट् च। 2-3-163 अम्बरीषः। IV-30.
4. B.K.U., Intro., pp. xii-xiii

sūtras of Bhoja and the Kātantra refers to several Daṇḍanāthas and suggests that the Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa of Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa is identical with the patron of Kavirāja Paṇḍita, who lived in 1120 A.D. Mīmāṃsaka is of the opinion that this Daṇḍanātha might have lived before DevarājaYajvā, who refers to him at several places in his commentary on the Nirukta and who lived in 1400 A.D. and that this commentary is an abridgement of some major commentary written on the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa by Bhoja himself.¹

Assessment : The commentary is concise. He quotes the relevant sūtras of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa to clarify his position. He also informs us of the implications of the anubandhas, whether they are for guṇa or its absence, for vṛddhi or its absence or for accentuation.² Like Jñānendra Sarasvatī and Ujjvaladatta, he does not mention the roots enunciated in the sūtra. But he does mention the 'sautra' roots, 'paṇsa' (S.K. 2-1-12), 'tu' (2-1-246), 'sapi' (2-1-276) and 'latiputi' (2-2-37). He refers to other commentators, where difference of opinion shows up.³ The sūtra which contains 'ādi' to denote other like forms is amplified by Daṇḍanātha. In this respect he does not remain vigilant and often falls a prey to superfluous repetition.⁴ He quotes neither from the lexicons nor from the classical works to shed light on the connotations of the uṇādi-words. Though Bhoja has paid due heed to the aspect of accentuation, yet the commentator hardly refers to the accent of the words. The uṇādi-word 'mayūra', problematic from the accent point of view, is derived with the uṇādi-affix 'ūra' without any indicative letter so that the desired accent of the affix may be obtained. The commentator takes no notice of it. So far as his etymological explanations of the uṇādi-words are concerned,

1. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 558.

2. णकारो वृद्धिचर्थः, अकारो वृद्धिस्वरार्थः। B.K.U., 2.1.1-2, p.1.

3. केचित् दीर्घं पठन्ति। Ibid., 2. 1. 247, p.17.

केचित् कुरुर इति पठन्ति। Ibid., 2.3.52, p.88.

4. Cf. आदिग्रहणात् मण्डूकलङ्ककवालुकादयो भवन्ति। Ibid., 2.2.26, p.49.

शलिमण्डिभ्यां णित्-मण्डूकः। Ibid., 2.2.58, p.49.

he proves to be satisfactory¹. In short, the Hṛdayahārīṇī on the uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja is a very simple commentary lacking comments on some important grammatical aspects of the uṇādi-words.

The Haima School

Introduction : Ācārya Hemacandra was a versatile and talented scholar. Siddharāja Jayasimha, the ruler of Anahitpatana, honoured him by the title 'Kalikāla-sarvajña'. He was born in a Modha family at Dhundhuka near Ahmedabad. Cāciga was his father, and Pāhini, his mother. His name of childhood was Cāṅgadeva. When he was only eight years old, his mother, Pāhini, gave him away to Candradeva-sūri, a Jain monk, who was impressed by the auspicious astrological marks borne by Cāṅgadeva². It took Hemacandra twelve years to gain mastery over all the branches of learning. He won laurels as Ācārya Hemacandra. He took to preaching Jainism whole-heartedly after he had become a monk. It is because of his brilliant scholarship that Siddharāja Jayasimha appointed him a member of his court as well as the Head of a monastery. He also lived under the patronage of Kumārapāla, son of Siddharāja Jayasimha. He died at the age of 84 in 1172 A.D.³ Besides the well-known works on various branches of learning like

1. दीव्यन्ति अस्मिन्निति दीदिविः स्वर्गः।

शेरते अस्मिन् प्रजाः सुखम् इति शिनिः राजा॥ B.K.U., 2-1-236, p.29.

विहन्ति गर्भमिति वेहत् अप्रसवा गौः। Ibid., 2-1-260, p.32.

विश्वं प्साति विश्वप्सा कालः। Ibid., 2-1-278, p.34.

कं वायुं ब्रह्म वा स्तभ्नाति इति ककुभः दिशः।

त्रीन् लोकान् स्तभ्नाति इति त्रिष्टुप्॥ Ibid., 2-1-199, p.37.

अदः। अनेन सर्वान्मा प्रत्यक्षमपि प्रकृष्टमप्रत्यक्षं बुद्धिस्थमुपदिश्यते। Ibid., 2-1-342, p.42.

अद्भ्यः सरन्ति अप्सराः। Ibid., 2-1-345, p.42.

ज्यवन्तेऽस्मिन् स्वेदा इति ज्योन्ताकः स्वेदसद्यविशेषः। Ibid., 2-2-14, p.47.

पुनाति पुनः सूनः। यत् पुन्नाम्नो नरकात् त्रायत इति व्युत्पत्तिः तत् संज्ञाशब्दानामनेकधा व्याख्यानं लक्षयति। Ibid., 2-3-84, p.92.

2. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Pt. I, p.83.

3. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p.565.

Kāvyānuśāsana, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Deśināmamālā, Yogaśāstra, Dvyāśrayakāvya, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita and others, he wrote a voluminous work on Sanskrit grammar called the Siddhahemacandra, but popularly known by the name Haimavyākaraṇa or Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana. The work consists of eight adhyāyas, out of which the eighth adhyāya is devoted to the Prakrit grammar, and can be termed as a grammar of all the Prakrit dialects. The Sanskrit grammar upto seven chapters is based practically upon Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The sūtras referring to the Vedic words or Vedic affixes or accents are entirely omitted. The wording of the sūtras is much similar to that of Pāṇini, at some places it is even identical. The order of the treatment of the subject in the Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana is not, however, similar to that found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It is somewhat topic-wise as in the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa. The first adhyāya and a quarter of the second are devoted to the saṁjñā and paribhāṣā and declension. The second pāda of the second adhyāya is devoted to kāraka, while the third pāda of it is devoted to cerebralisation, the fourth pāda to the feminine affixes. The first two pādas of the third adhyāya are devoted to samāsa, while the last two pādas of the third adhyāya and the whole fourth adhyāya are devoted to conjugation. The fifth adhyāya is devoted to verbal derivatives and the sixth and the seventh adhyāyas are devoted to the formation of nouns from nouns, that is, secondary affixes. Such a comprehensive grammar having eight adhyāyas, thirty-two pādas and 5502 sūtras was written only in a year by Hemacandra¹.

Hemacandra utilised the basic materials of the works of his predecessors, viz., Pāṇini, Candragomin, Śarvavarmā, Kātyāyana, Devanandin and Jain Śākaṭāyana. This Vyākaraṇa is the first and the last system in which the rules of Sanskrit and Prakrit are expounded together. The object of Hemacandra in writing the new system of grammar was to present before the people a work with the help of which they could understand the application of the rules of grammar in an easier way.

1. श्रीहेमचन्द्राचार्यैः श्रीसिद्धहेमाभिधानं अभिनवं पञ्चाङ्गमपि व्याकरणं सपादलक्षग्रन्थप्रमाणं संवत्सरेण रचयाञ्चक्रे। Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Pt. I, p.60

Characteristics of the Uṇādi-sūtras of the Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana

Hemacandra wrote 1006 uṇādi-sūtras, which prescribe the derivation of about 4300 words, as an appendix to his grammar. Following his own technique, he does not treat of accent and consequently does not use any indicatory letters which determine the accent of words as is seen in the Pañcapādī and the Sarasvatīkanthābharāṇa. The uṇādi-affixes are mainly based on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. The flexibility and progress of Sanskrit language has been kept in view throughout. We can say that uṇādi-sūtras written by him are an intelligent improvement on the uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja. The use of easier synonyms of words is meant for easier comprehension. The order and arrangement of the uṇādi-sūtras is very easy to follow¹. In these uṇādi-sūtras Hemacandra has used 980 roots of his own Dhātupāṭha which has 1980 roots in all. He has spared no pains even in enunciating the formation of the new words that found currency in the Sanskrit language at that time. For this purpose he has coined a large number of new affixes in addition to the Pāṇinian ones. Here is a list of the affixes sūtra-wise but without the anubandhas :

a, ka, aka, āka, ika, īka, uka, ūka, aṅka, iṅka, aviṅka, elaka, aṭṛka, āṇaka, anaka, inaka, idhuka, edhuka, tika, tak, itaka, ātaka, kha, ūkha, īkha, ga, āga, aṅga, iṅga, uṅga, gha, agha, ca, aca, āca, ica, īca, uca, ūca, oca, aṅca, iṅca, cha, ja, aja, ija, aṅja, jha, ṭa, aṭa, iṭ, iṇṭa, ṭa, aṭa, uṭa, uḍa, uṭa, ūṭa, eṭa, oṭa, ṭha, aṭha, ḍa, aḍa, aṇḍa, uḍa, uṇḍa, ḍha, ṇa, aṇa, āṇa, iṇa, uṇa, eṇa, ta, ata, āta, ita, īta, uta, ūta, ota, anta, unta, tha, atha, ūtha, da, ida, īda, uda, anda, inda, unda, ukunda, dha, adha, vadha, andha, na, ana, āna, asāna, ina,

1. अत्रश्रीसूरयः सम्प्रदायानुरोधात्पूर्वमुण्प्रत्ययमभिधाय स्वरादिक्रमेण प्रत्ययानभिधास्यन्ति। तत्रापि पूर्वं केवलोकारः प्रत्ययः। ततः स एव कादिक्रमेण व्यञ्जनोपहितो यथा कः प्रत्ययः खः प्रत्ययः इत्यादि। ततस्त एव कादिप्रत्ययाः क्रमेण स्वरादयो यथा अक आक ईक इत्यादि। ततस्त एव अनेकवर्णादयो यथा एलक आतृक इत्यादि। एवं खादयोऽपि ततः केवल इकारप्रत्ययस्ततः स क्रमेण व्यञ्जनोपहित इत्यादि सर्वं यथासम्भवं तथैव यावदौदन्ताः स्वरास्ततः क्रमेण व्यञ्जनान्ताः प्रत्ययाः यथा किकृ प्रत्ययः इत्याद्याचार्यचक्रवर्तिनो रचनाचातुरी कियद्विवेक्तुम् शक्यत इति। H.P., Pt. II, p.885

īna, una, ta, sna, śasāna, pa, apa, āpa, ipa, īpa, upa, ūpa, śapa, pha, ba, amba, imba, umba, bha, abha, ibha, ubha, ambha, umbha, ma, abha, ibha, uma, ūma, eli, ḍim, ya, aya, uya, āya, āyya, iya, ālīya, anua, anya, ānya eṇya, sya, iṣya, uṣya, athya, ra, ara, āra, ira, īra, ura, ūra, era, ora, kara, tara, sara, vara, evara, aṅgara, tra, atra, itra, utra, la, ala, āla, ila, ula, ūla, ela, ola, kala, khala, bala, vala, tala, pāla, vāla, mala, sala, va, ava, āva, iva, śva, uva, tva, itva, śa, aśa, āśa, iśa, uśa, piśa, taśa, aśa, āśa, iśa, īśa, uśa, ūśa, maśa, māśa, sa, asa, āsa, īsa, usa, ṭisa, isa, tasa, nasa, pāsa, māsa, ambusa, ha, aha, āha, ūha, tyūha, okaha, akṣa, ā, i, ki, aki, akhi, ikhi, īci, aṭi, ḍhi, ṇi, aṇi, iṇi, trīṇi, ti, ati, asti, āti, anti, unti, iti, thi, athi, ithi, adhi, radhi, ni, ani, atni, ini, uni, mani, dubhi, mi, ayi, ri, tri, atri, ari, uri, li, ali, okuli, mali, vi, si, asi, nasi, hi ī, u, ku, āku, aṅku, svaku, gu, aṅgu, aṭu, āṭu, iṣṭu, āṇḍu, kaṇḍuka, ṇu, aṇu, iṣṇu, eṇu, tu, atu, yatu, ātu, du, dhu, nu, tu, nu, anu, radānu, aknu, itnu, ipu, bu, amu, yu, ayu, anyu, ru, aru, āru, uru, ūru, lu, ālu, alu, śu, su, akṣu, ū, ḍu, dū, bū, andhū, āgū, eru, ṛ, ṭṛ, ai, o, au, k, c, vac, aj, ij, aṭ, aḍ, aṇḍ, kvip, at, avat, it, ut, ṛt, ṛth, ad, tad, sad, mad, an, tan, van, man, iman, īman, in, min, bhukṣin, irin, kvip (p), kvip (bh), kvip (r), kvip (ś), kvip (ṣ), kvip (h), m, am, dam, im, īm, tum, ar, ur, iv, as, jas, thas, tas, mas, pas, phas, sas, taśas, anas, ramas, unas, ūnas, ās, is, us, ums, a, ā, ais, os.

A study of these affixes shows that these are the product of high imagination, as they are simply meant for deriving the words somehow or the other. This kind of effort does not seem to be out of place as such forced derivations fall under the category of the uṇādi-words.

The uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra are not divided into chapters. They form a single-book. The very first sūtra shows that he sacrifices his ideal order only to honour the tradition. Like Bhoja, he also includes in these sūtras those unenjoined words which are available in the commentaries on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. He has no scruples about using the anubandhas. That is why the three opening sūtras of the Pañcapādī have been compressed into a

single sūtra by Hemacandra¹. A comparative study² of these

1. Cf. कृवापाजिस्वदिसाध्यशौदृस्नासनिजानिरहीण्यः उण्। H.U., 1.
कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूय उण्। U.S.U., I-1.
छन्दसीणः। Ibid., I-2.
दृसनजनिचरिचटिम्यो जुण्। Ibid., I-3.

Similar Uṇādi-sūtras

2. The Uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra The Uṇādi-sūtras of the Pañcapādī
प्राडः पणिपनिकषिभ्यः। --H.U. 42. प्राडि पणिकषः। --U.S.U., II-41.
जीवेरातुको जैव् च। --67. (जीवैः) आतुकन् वृद्धिश्च। --I-81.
आडः पणिपनिपदपतिभ्यः। --39. आडि पणिपनिपतिखनिभ्यः। --II-45.
स्यमेः सीम् च। --44. स्यमेः सम्प्रसारणञ्च। --II-43.
शीभोराजेशचानकः। --71. आनकः शीङ्भियः। --III-82.
पञ्चमाड्डः। --168. जमन्ताड्डः। --I-113.
अदो भुवः डुतः। --214. अदि भुवो डुतच्। --V-1.
नञ आपेः। --211. नञ्याप इट् च। --III-87.
शमिवणिभ्यां ढः। --179. शमेढः। --I-101.
शमिमनिभ्यां खः। --84. शमेः खः। --I-104.
कबेरोतः प् च। --217. कबेरोतच् पश्च। --I-63.
उपसर्गाद्वसः। --233. उपसर्गे वसः। --III-114.
महेर्णिद्वा। --285. महेरिण् च। --II-56.
फलेर्गोन्तश्च। --291. फलेर्गुक् च। --III-56.
भियः षोऽन्तश्च। --344. भियः षुक् ह्रस्वश्च। --I-137.
कथिगुधेरूमः। --353. गुधेरूमः। --V-2.
दधिषाय्यदोधीषाय्यौ। --374. दधिषाय्यः। --III-97.
वृडः एण्यः। --382. वजः एण्यः। --III-98.
ध्याप्योः घोपी च। --908. ध्याप्योः सम्प्रसारणं च। --IV-114.
कशेर्मोऽन्तश्च। --420. कशेर्मुट् च। --IV-32.
कठिकिसहिभ्यः ओरः। --433. कठिकिभ्यामोरन्। --I-65.
नहेर्भश्च। --621. नहो भश्च। --IV-125.
आडः कृहृशुषेः सनः। --643. आडि शुषेः सनश्छन्दसि। --II-104.
कृतेस्तर्क च। --723. कृतेराद्यन्तविपर्ययश्च। --I-17.
शः सन्वच्च। --747. शः कित्सन्वच्च। --I-21.
पारेरज्। --873. पारेरजिः। --I-135.

uṇādi-sūtras with those of the Pañcapādī shows that he has heavily drawn on the latter with some modifications which admit of adaptability to his own grammatical technique. Some of the uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra are similar to those of the Pañcapādī and some are quite identical.

Hemacandra has also availed himself of the uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja, which enjoin many words unfamiliar to the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. A comparative look at the uṇādi-sūtras of both Hema and Bhoja will bear out the fact that Hema owes much to Bhoja¹.

Commentary by Hemacandra

Introduction : John Kirste edited 'The Uṇādigāṇasūtra

क्लेः किल्ब च। --557.
नजो व्यथेः। --552.
द्वियो रश्च लो वा। --25.
सर्तेर्णिच्। --230.
जृवृभ्यामूथः। --236.

किलेर्बक् च। --I-51.
नजि व्यथेः। --I-50.
द्वियो रश्च लो वा। --III-48.
सर्तेर्णिच्च। --II-5.
जृवृभ्यामूथन्। --II-6.

Identical

रमेस्त च। --264.
इणः कित्। --328.
रातेडैः। --866.
ग्लानुदिभ्यां डौः। --868.
गमेरा च। --868.
रुहेवृद्धिश्च। --548.
तवेः (णिद्) वा। --550.
क्षिपेः कित्। --642.
शिलषेः क च। --739.
वशेः कित्। --876.

रमेस्त च। --III-14.
इणः कित्। --III-153.
रातेडैः। --II-66.
ग्लानुदिभ्यां डौः। --II-64.
गमेरा च। --IV-168.
रुहेवृद्धिश्च। --I-148.
तवेर्णिच्। --I-49.
क्षिपेः किच्च। --II-108.
शिलषेः कश्च। --I-33.
वशेः कित्। --II-71.

1. The Uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra.
क्रमेरेलकः। --H.U., 66
भियो द्वे च। --78
चण्डिमल्लिभ्यामातकः। --82
शमिमनिभ्यां खः। --84
लुषेष्टः। --138.
खञ्जेररीटः। --152.
शकेरुन्तः। --233.

- The Uṇādi-sūtras of Bhoja.
क्रमेरेलकः। --B.U.S., 2-2-33.
भियो द्वे च। --2-2-39.
चण्डिमल्लिभ्यामातकः। --2-2-42.
शमिमनिभ्यां खः। --2-2-44.
लुषेष्टः। --2-2-94.
खञ्जेररीटः। --2-2-104.
शकेरुन्तः। --2-2-146.

कषेर्डित्। --224
लिहेर्जिह् च। --513
लाक्षाद्राक्षामिक्षादयः। --597
दस्त्यूहः। --594
अनेरोकहः। --595.
सनेर्डीखिः। --625.
वर्धेरकिः। --624.
शकेरुन्ति। --666.
अतेरिथिः। --673.
उषेरधिः। --675.
द्युद्वभ्याम्। --744.
गमेः सन्वच्च। --792.
जीवेरदानुक्। --795.
वाद्धरी। --944.
सहेः षष् च। --951.
यमेर्दुक्। --783.
कपाटविराट्शृंगाटप्रपुनाटादयः। --148.

चिरेरिटो भ् च। --149.
चपेरेटः। --158.
नजः सहेः षा च। --181.
यमेरुन्दः। --249.
अशो रश्चादौ। --270.
उन्देर्नलुक् च। --271.
महरेलः। --492.
नजो भुवो डित्। --512.
वल्लेरक्षः। --596.
अशो रश्चादिः। --622.
सारेरथिः। --670.
अर्तेरन्तिः। --682.
वातात् प्रमः कित्। --713.
लक्षेर्मोऽन्तश्च। --713.
शलेराटुः। --763.
दमेर्लुक् च। --759.
अञ्जेरिष्णुः। --771.
दिवेर्डिविः। --949.

कषेर्डित्। --2-2-147.
लिहेर्जिह् च। --2-3-132.
लाक्षाद्राक्षामिक्षादयः। --2-3-191.
दस्त्यूहः। --2-3-189
अनेरोकहः। --2-3-186.
सनेर्डीखिः। --2-1-175.
वर्धेरकिः। --2-1-174.
शकेरुन्ति। --2-1-200.
अतेरिथिः। --2-1-204.
उषेरधिः। --2-1-204.
द्युद्वभ्याम्। --2-1-34.
गमेः सन्वच्च। --2-1-76.
जीवेरदानुक्। --2-1-80.
वाद्धरी। --2-1-304.
सहेः षष् च। --2-1-309.
यमेर्दुक्। --2-1-68.
शृंगाटकपाटललाटविराटप्रपुनाटादयः। --2-2-100
चरेरिटच् भश्च। --2-2-101.
चपेरेटच्। --2-2-109.
नजि सहेः षश्चादेः। --2-2-121.
यमेरुन्दम्। --2-2-170.
अशेरश्च। --2-2-186.
उन्देर्नलोपश्च। --2-2-187.
महरेलच्। --2-3-113.
न भुवो डित्। --2-3-133.
वल्लेरक्षन्। --2-3-190.
अशेरुट्च। --2-1-170.
सारेरथिन्। --2-1-202.
अर्तेरन्तिच्। --2-1-217.
वाते प्रमः कित्। --2-1-243.
लक्षेर्मुट् च। --2-1-245.
शलेराटुच्। --2-1-50.
दमेर्लोपश्च। --2-1-46.
अञ्जेरिष्णुच्। --2-1-78.
दिवेर्डिविः। --2-1-306.

of Hemacandra' with the author's¹ own commentary in 1895. At the end, this commentary has been termed as 'Avacūri' which implies that this commentary is based on a more exhaustive commentary known as Hemoṇādigaṇavivarāṇa.²

Assessment : The commentary is concise and explains the sūtras in a nice manner. His approach is simple and direct. In accordance with the meaning of the title 'Avacūri' the glosses contain only an abstract of the fuller explanation.³ As the affixes are verbal, it may be useful to point out that Hemacandra's classification of the roots and the anubandhas somewhat differ from those used by the Pāṇinian school. Hemacandra divides the roots into nine classes. The second and third of Pāṇini's system are lumped together. Roots of the first class receive no anubandhas. To the eight others the following letters are appended : 'k' to the second, e.g. 'yuk', 'rk'; 'c' to the third e.g. 'kupac'; 'ṭ' to the fourth, e.g. 'sadhaṭ'; 't' to the fifth, e.g. 'piṣat'; 'p' to the sixth, e.g. 'kṛtaip'; 'y' to the seventh, e.g. 'tanūyi'; 'ś' to the eighth, e.g. 'sṛś'; 'ṇ' to the ninth, e.g. 'curaṇ'. Among other anubandhas added to roots for various purpose the following differ from those used by Pāṇini.⁴

Pāṇini	Hemacandra
anudātta	anusvāra
udāttet	after consonants, 'a'
i	u
ir	r
ī	ai
u	u
ū	au
ṇ	i or ḍ
ñ	i or g

1. श्रीसिद्धहेमचन्द्रव्याकरणनिवेशिनामुणादीनाम्।
आचार्यः हेमचन्द्रः करोति विवृतिं प्रणम्यार्हम्॥ The Uṇādigaṇasūtra of Hemacandra, preface, p.2.
2. इति उणादिगणसूत्रावचूरिः ॥ सम्पूर्णा ॥ Ibid., Preface, p.2
3. The Uṇādigaṇasūtra of Hemacandra.
4. Ibid., p.3.

Hemacandra explains the sūtra and gives examples along with their meanings. In this respect he is remarkable.¹ He also utilises the 'bahulam' in the case of grammatical complexities.² When there is any ambiguity in the sūtras, he removes it by telling us the purpose of the use of a particular word.³ Whenever an anubandha with a purpose comes, he informs us of it.⁴ His etymological explanations are also important to note.⁵ The commentary is valuable so far as connotations of the new words are concerned.

The Haimaprakāśa on the Uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra

Introduction : The author of the commentary is known by the name Vinaya Vijaya Gaṇi. A comparative study of the commentary of Hemacandra and that of Vinaya Vijaya shows that the latter is entirely based on the former. It was composed in 1653 A.D.⁶ The Haimaprakāśa was written after the Prakriyā style. It was written only on the seven chapters of the Siddhahaimaśāb-dānuśāsana. It forms a digest of several Sanskrit grammars, ancient and modern. In the beginning the author declares that it is meant for children.⁷

1. अनो वहति । अनङ्वान् वृषभः। The Uṇādigaṇasūtra of Hemacandra, p. 160.
महिनं राज्यं शयनं च। Ibid., p. 49
2. करोत्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सत्यर्थे वर्तमानेभ्यः सम्प्रदानापादानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भावे च संज्ञायां बहुलमुण् प्रत्ययो भवति। Ibid., p.1, sūtra 3. Also : टित्तेऽपि डीर्न भवति बहुलाधिकारात्। Ibid., p.3, sūtra 3.
3. सरूपग्रहणं व्यञ्जनस्यादेर्लुगित्यादिकार्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। Ibid., p.3, sūtra 8.
4. टित्करणं डचर्थम्। Ibid., p.3, sūtra 11.
5. अश्नुते तेजसा सर्वकेदारं वा आशुः सूर्यो ब्रीहिश्च। Ibid., p.1, sūtra 1.
हरति नयति शस्त्राण्यस्खलन् लक्ष्यं हराहरो योगाचार्यः।
धावति वायुना नीयमानः समन्तात् सरासरो मृगः।
फलति निष्पादयति नानाविधानि पुष्पफलानि फलाफलमरण्यम्। Ibid., p.4, sūtra 16.
नास्य खमस्तीति वा नखः। Ibid., p.2, sūtra 4.
दुष्टानि खान्यस्मिन् दुःखम्। Ibid., p.19, sūtra 87.
6. Vide, The Haima-prakāśa-mahāvyaākaraṇa, Pt.II, ed. Ācārya Vijaya Kṣāmabhadrasūri, Bombay, 1953
7. प्रणम्य परमात्मानं बालानां बोधसिद्धये।
करोमि प्रक्रियां सिद्धहेमचन्द्रानुसारिणीम्॥ Ibid., Pt. I, p.1.

Assessment : The commentary includes the uṇādi-sūtras in the Kṛdanta section, under the title 'kṛdantaprakriyāyām uṇādayaḥ'. This commentary is, indeed, a learned exposition of the uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra. The commentator churns all the available commentaries and presents in a precise style the gems of details easy to grasp.¹

The author remarks in the beginning that the use of the 'bahulam' is meaningful as it allows the formation of words other than nominal stems and as it also makes lenient the regulation of the tense in the case of the uṇādi-words.² He enlists the roots from the Haima-dhātupāṭha along with each and every sūtra. He gives a lucid meaning of the sūtras. The meanings he attaches to the uṇādi-words are quite different from those in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. For instance, the word 'kāru', here, means 'barber' also;³ while in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras it only means 'doer' and 'architect'. Like the commentators on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras, he also quotes the sūtras from the Siddha-haima-śabdānuśāsa relevant to the process of the derivation of the uṇādi-words. The etymological explanations are also worth paying attention to, as they contain novelty of their own. They do not beat about the bush; they tell us what the direct connotation of the word should be.

As the uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra prescribe the formation of as many as 4300 words, they are also important from linguistic point of view. For example, the word 'dilīpa' has not been derived by any of the previous uṇādi-treatises, while Hemacandra derives it by the uṇādi-sūtra 310.⁴ That is why the etymological explana-

tion given in the commentary is significant and interesting and hence merits attention.¹ They do not resemble those given in the commentaries on the Pañcapādi uṇādi-sūtras. Both time and linguistic evolution seem to have had effect on them. When a word has manifold meanings, the commentator rightly enumerates them along with their etymological exposition.² Sometimes, he quotes ślokas for the elucidation of the meaning of a word.³ He also makes allusion to the views of other commentators where points of difference occur.⁴ The Abhidhānacintāmaṇi has also been made use of in deciding the meanings of the words or in pointing out some difference of opinion.⁵

1. ज्योतिर्द्योतितचिच्चमत्कृतिगलज्जाड्यामयं वाङ्मयम्

निस्तन्द्रं प्रणिधाय सद्गुरुकृपाप्राप्तानवद्योद्यमः।

नानार्थप्रगुणैरुणादिभिरथोद्यत्प्रत्ययैः प्रत्ययैः

प्रव्यक्तान् प्रयते विविक्तुमनघान् शब्दप्रयोगानिह॥ The Haima-prakāśa-mahāvyaṅkaraṇa, Pt. II, p.885.

2. बहुलमिति वचनात् प्रायः संज्ञाशब्दा केचित्संज्ञाशब्दा अपि, तथा सति विहिता उणादयः क्वचिद् भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते। Ibid., Pt. II, p. 885.

3. Ibid., pt. II, p.885, H.U., 1.

4. दिलीपो दिल् च। दिलीपः राजा। Ibid., Pt. II, p. 908, H.U., 310.

1. दौकते प्रयाणकाले ढक्का। Haima-prakāśa-mahāvyaṅkaraṇa, Pt. II, p. 888, H.U., 26.

मन्यते उपादेयतया राजभिः मनाका हस्तिनी। Ibid., p. 890, H.U., 34

कलन्ते शब्दायन्ते भृङ्गा अस्यां कलिका कोरकम्। Ibid., H.U., 38.

स्फटति विकसति प्रतिबिम्बमस्मिन् स्फटिकः मणिः। Ibid.

नसते कुटिलोभवति अहृद्यादिदर्शनादिति नासिका। Ibid., p 891 H.U., 40.

पिबति विरहिणां रक्तं पिकः। Ibid., H.U., 41.

प्रियते रावणेन विना मारीचः रावणमातुलः। Ibid., p 896 H.U., 118.

अद् विस्मिन् भवति तेन तस्मिन् वा मनः अद्भुतमाश्चर्यम्। Ibid., p 903 H.U., 214.

विहीयते त्यज्यते शुचिशरीरमस्मिन्निति विहेलमः स्वर्गः। Ibid., p. 911, H.U., 354.

विश्यति तनूभवति मासि मासि कलाभिः होयमानः इति विशेलमः चन्द्रः स्वर्गश्च। Ibid.

2. प्राकषति सूक्ष्मजन्तून् सदाचारं विरहिजनं पुष्पादिभिर्दुर्गन्धम्।

प्राकषिकः वायुः खलः नर्तकः मालाकारश्च। Ibid., p 891 H.U., 42.

दृणाति पितं शत्रून् कर्णं दर्दरीकः दाडिमः इन्द्रः वादित्रविशेषः वादित्रभाण्डञ्च। Ibid., H.U., 47.

त्रियतेऽनेन, त्रियते वृकेण, त्रियते शबैः, त्रियते पुष्पादिना वर्वीकः संवरणं उरणः पक्षी केशसंघातश्च। याच्यते त्रियते विज्ञैः वर्वीका सरस्वती। Ibid., p 892 H.U., 47.

3. लुब्धः कीनाशः स्यात्कानाशोऽप्युच्यते कृतघ्नश्च।

योऽश्नाति आममांसं स च कीनाशो यमश्चैव॥

अकृतज्ञमकार्यज्ञं दीर्घरोषमनार्जवम्।

चतुरो विद्धि चाण्डालाज्जन्मेति पञ्चमम्॥ Ibid., p. 922, H.U., 475.

4. केचित् सिम् इति ह्रस्वोपान्त्यमादेशं प्रत्ययस्य दीर्घत्वमपि इच्छन्ति सिमीकः सूक्ष्मकृमिः। Ibid., p. 891, H.U., 44.

5. अभिधानचिन्तामणौ तु दिधीषूस्तु पुनर्भूद्विरूढास्या दिधिषूः पतिरित्युक्तम्। Ibid., p. 942, H.U., 841.

In spite of the commentary being so exhaustive from grammatical and semantic points of view, the author says at the end of the commentary that these uṇādi-affixes have not been culled exhaustively.¹

The plan of Hemacandra seems to be very ambitious and he makes a real contribution to the uṇādi-literature. These sūtras reflect the true zeal of Hemacandra as a grammarian.

The Sārasvata School

Introduction : The Sārasvata School is based upon the 700 sūtras of the simplest kind, which were meant for the purpose of learning the Sanskrit language for ordinary purposes. The origin of this system is lost in obscurity.² Though the authorship of this school is generally ascribed to Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya, yet the commencing propitiatory verse by him implies that he himself did not write the sūtras but arranged them in the prakriyā order.³ This view is supported by Kṣemendra at the end of his commentary.⁴ In spite of the evidence, it does not seem proper to attribute these sūtras conclusively to Narendrācārya.

As regards the date of the composition of the Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa, nothing can be said with certainty as no satisfactory evidence is available which can throw light upon the life and date of Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya. About the date of Sārasvataprakriyā, Belvalkar says that Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya could not have lived earlier than 1250 and later than 1450, when Puṇjarāja, the earliest of his known commentators lived.⁵ As many as twenty commen-

1. एवं पञ्चोत्तरं सूत्रसहस्रं परिभाषितम्।
उणादिषु प्रत्ययेषु कृवापाजौतिसूत्रतः॥
किञ्चित्संक्षिप्य निर्दिष्टा प्रत्यया इत्युणादयः।
हैमोणादिविवरणमनुसृत्य यथाश्रुतम्॥ Haima-prakāśa-mahāvyaākaraṇa, Pt. II p.950.
2. Catalogue, Vol. VI, Preface, p. lxxii.
3. प्रणम्य परमात्मानं बालधोवृद्धिसिद्धये।
सरस्वतीमृजुं कुर्वे प्रक्रियां नातिविस्तराम्॥ Sārasvata-prakriyā, Pt. I, ed. Naval Kishore Śāstrī, Benares, 1936.
4. इति नरेन्द्राचार्यकृते सारस्वते क्षेमेन्द्रटिप्पणं समाप्तम्। See also
यन्नेन्द्रनगरप्रभाषितं यच्च वैमलसरस्वतीरितम्।
तन्मया लिखितं तथाधिकं किञ्चिदेव कलितं स्वया धिया॥ Quoted in, Systems, p.95.
5. Systems, p.96.

taries were written on this system. These commentaries were responsible for its wide popularity in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹

The Sārasvataprakriyā is easy to follow even without the aid of a commentary. All difficult and outdated forms have been left out. The Vedic irregularities and accents which appear as independent sections in the Siddhānta Kaumudī were not included in the body of the Sārasvatavyākaraṇa.

Characteristics of the Uṇādi-sūtras of the Sārasvata-prakriyā

There are only 33 uṇādi-sūtras in this treatise, which prescribe the formation of about 110 words. These sūtras have no salient features worth-mentioning. They are in every respect much inferior to the uṇādi-sūtras of the preceding systems of Sanskrit grammar. These sūtras could have been given in the kṛdanta section. It seems that love for tradition has compelled the protagonists of different systems of Sanskrit grammar to write some sūtras separately as the uṇādi-sūtras. At the end of the uṇādi-prakriyā, Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya says that the uṇādi-words are too many to be enumerated.²

Commentaries

(1) The Subodhikā of Candrakīrti

Brief Account : Candrakīrti was a follower of Jainism and a pupil of Harṣakīrti. He lived in 1600 A.D. and might have composed this commentary in 1545-1553 A.D.³ The commentary explains the 33 uṇādi-sūtras in a lucid manner. It also includes other important uṇādi-words which are self-explanatory but which have been left by the sūtras.⁴ Besides that, the commentary by Candrakīrti amplifies, a little, the short gloss by Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya. It has no other features worth-mentioning.

1. Itihāsa, Vol. I, pp. 571-76.
2. उणादयोऽपरिमिता येषु संख्या न गम्यते। प्रयोगमनुसृत्याद्वा प्रयोक्तव्यास्ततस्ततः॥ Sārasvataprakriyā, pt.II, p.287.
3. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 572.
4. कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाधि-अशूङ् एभ्यः उण् प्रत्ययो भवति। Ibid., p.281.

(2) The Prasāda of Vāsudevabhāṭṭa

Brief Account : Vāsudevabhāṭṭa was the disciple of Caṇḍīśvara and lived in 1577 A.D.¹ He wrote the Prasāda commentary on the Sārasvata-prakriyā of Anubhūti. This commentary seems to be influenced by that of Ujjvaladatta² as it records the same quotations as Ujjvaladatta and Bhaṭṭoji do in their commentaries. This commentary is smaller than that of Candrakīrti. Vāsudeva pays no heed to the grammatical process, he simply enlists the words prescribed by the sūtras along with the relevant quotations from various lexicons.

The Uṇādi-sūtras of the Siddhāntacandrikā

Introduction : There is another recension of the Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa which is known as the Siddhāntacandrikā written by Ramāśrama in the seventeenth century³. He introduced his own amplifications and modifications into it.

Characteristics : The uṇādi-sūtras of the Siddhāntacandrikā number 381 and are divided into five chapters. A comparative study of the uṇādi-sūtras of the Siddhāntacandrikā with those of Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya shows that Ramāśrama did not borrow from the latter and composed the uṇādi-sūtras by himself utilising every work on the uṇādi-sūtras. These uṇādi-sūtras possess such abbreviations as would demand the guidance of a teacher well-versed in Sanskrit grammar. For instance, the very first uṇādi-sūtra is an abbreviation of the first uṇādi-sūtra of the Pañcapādī.⁴ These sūtras are also based upon the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. There are many sūtras which are identical to those of the Pañcapādī.⁵ Some are similar with some modifications.⁶ Sometimes the author

dissects a Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtra into many sūtras. The sūtra (U.S.U. I-19) has been dissected into five sūtras in the Siddhāntacandrikā.¹

(1) The Tattvadīpikā by Lokeśakara

Brief Account : Lokeśakara was the son of Kṣemakara and completed this commentary in 1684 A.D. (Vik. 1741).² The commentary teems with repetitions. It is an abridgement of the commentaries on the Pañcapādī. It contains quotations from the famous lexicons and classical works in the same manner as the Uṇādi-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta. The etymological explanations also resemble those given by Ujjvaladatta, Śvetavanavāsin and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

(2) The Subodhinī by Sadānanda

Brief Account : Sadānanda wrote this commentary in 1742 (Vik. 1799) A.D.³ This commentary is more comprehensive than the Tattvadīpikā, but it owes much to the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī, from which much material has been borrowed. It also contains citations from the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra.⁴ It explains the sūtras in a very simple way. Examples are plenty along with the quotations from literary works. He refers to the views of others whenever he notices any points of difference.⁵ If we screen the commentary with a keen eye, it looks like an easy summary of the Tattvabodhinī by Jñānendra Sarasvatī.

(3) The Vyutpattisāra (Manuscript B)

Brief Account : It is an anonymous commentary on the uṇādi-sūtras of the Siddhānta-candrikā. It might have been copied

1. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 574.
2. Cf. करोतीति कारुः शिल्पी कारकश्च । तत्राद्ये योगरूढिः द्वितीये तु योगमात्रमिति विवेकः । Sārasvataprakriyā, pt. II, pp. 281-82. See also Ujj. on the uṇādi-sūtra I-1.
3. Itihāsa, Vol. I, p. 576.
4. क्रद्रेण् । Siddhānta-candrikā, Benares, 1931, ed. Naval Kishore Shāstrī, Part II, p. 286.
5. 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 27, 36, 41, 47, 48, 49, 62, 66, 68, 110, 111, 112, 153, 155, 168, 193, 197, 198, 256, 258, 265, 273, 285, 286, 292, 291, 309, 310, 328, 335, 343, Ibid., Pt. II, Uṇādi-prakriyā.
6. 35, 80, 88, 127, 138, 199, 297, 366, etc. Ibid., Pt. II, Uṇādi-prakriyā.

1. फलेर्गुक् च । पाटेः पटिश्च । मनेर्घश्च । जनेस्त च । नभेर्नाकिश्च । Sūtras 10, 11, 12, 13, 15. Siddhānta Candrikā, Part II, Uṇādi-prakriyā.
2. Ibid., Part II, p. 382.
3. Ibid., Pt. II, and also Itihāsa, Vol. II, P. 220.
4. भरुर्भर्तृकनकयोः इति हैमः । Siddhānta-candrikā, Part II, p. 287. 'मधुश्चैत्रे च दैत्ये च मधे पुष्परसे मेघे इति हेमचन्द्रः । p. 289.
5. कैश्चित् तु दद्यातेरित्वं दित्वं पुक् च निपात्यते । दधात्यसाविति दिधिषूरिति व्याख्यातम् ॥ Ibid., Pt. II, p. 298

in 1873 (vik. 1930) A.D.¹ This commentary begins with an invocatory remark. It contains 741 sūtras divided into five chapters : chapter I (159), chapter II (118), chapter III (159), chapter IV (235), chapter V (70). The number of the sūtras shows that it is a commentary on the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras. The writer seems to have been much influenced by Sadānanda. It contains too significant peculiarities to be discussed. What is really peculiar in the commentary is that it contains, here and there, the Punjabi synonyms,² which show that the author might have belonged to Punjab.

1. ओं श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ शुभम्। १९३० मास ज्येष्ठ शुदि चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ लिपिकृतं गणपतिरामेण॥ प्रा० ३९॥ End of the ms.
2. छज्ज इति भाषा। Ms. p.77 ; अक्क p.80 ; सरो । p.88 ; इट्टां। p.90 ; चिक्कड। p.111 ; हद। p.128 ; गुदव्याधिः बवासीर इति भाषा। p.141 ; कुहाडा। p.147.

Epilogue

The Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras were written by Pāṇini as they bear the marks of organisation by Pāṇini. The Daśapādī is more or less a rearrangement of the Pañcapādī uṇādi-sūtras.

The commentaries on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras throw a flood of light on their characteristics and linguistic importance. The commentaries on the Pañcapādī are superior to those on the Daśapādī in every respect.

The textual variations in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras pose a serious problem as they have become unwieldy on account of the loose characteristics of the uṇādi-sūtras. However, the rules of accent and usage can be used to rectify many of the variations. The Prauḍha Manoramā of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita has done this remarkably well.

The Post-Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras have their origin in the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras. Each and every subsequent Post-Pāṇinian system makes the best use of the uṇādi-sūtras of the preceding systems. The uṇādi-sūtras of Candrācārya are brief and sound. They give a good show of constitution. The uṇādi-sūtras of Hemacandra are the most comprehensive. The 1006 sūtras prescribe the formation of about 4300 words which include popular words current at that time. Bhoja gave a proper place to the uṇādi-sūtras in his Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa. The uṇādi-sūtras of the Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa, Saupadma, Saṃkṣiptasāra, etc. seem to have been separated unnecessarily as they could have been included in their kṛdanta portions without any problem. Moreover, the commentaries on the Post-Pāṇinian sūtras contain much useful etymological exposition. Besides, they owe much to the commentaries on the Pāṇinian uṇādi-sūtras.

APPENDIX I

Names of the books and authors cited by Ujjvaladatta.
(Numerical figures denote pages)

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5. अपरे-- 43.
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8. अमरटीका--12, 38, 62, 102, 177.
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14. इन्दुमित्र-- 88.
15. उणादिवृत्ति-- 28.
16. उत्तररत्न-- 110, 201.
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51. चान्द्रव्याकरण-- 34.
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